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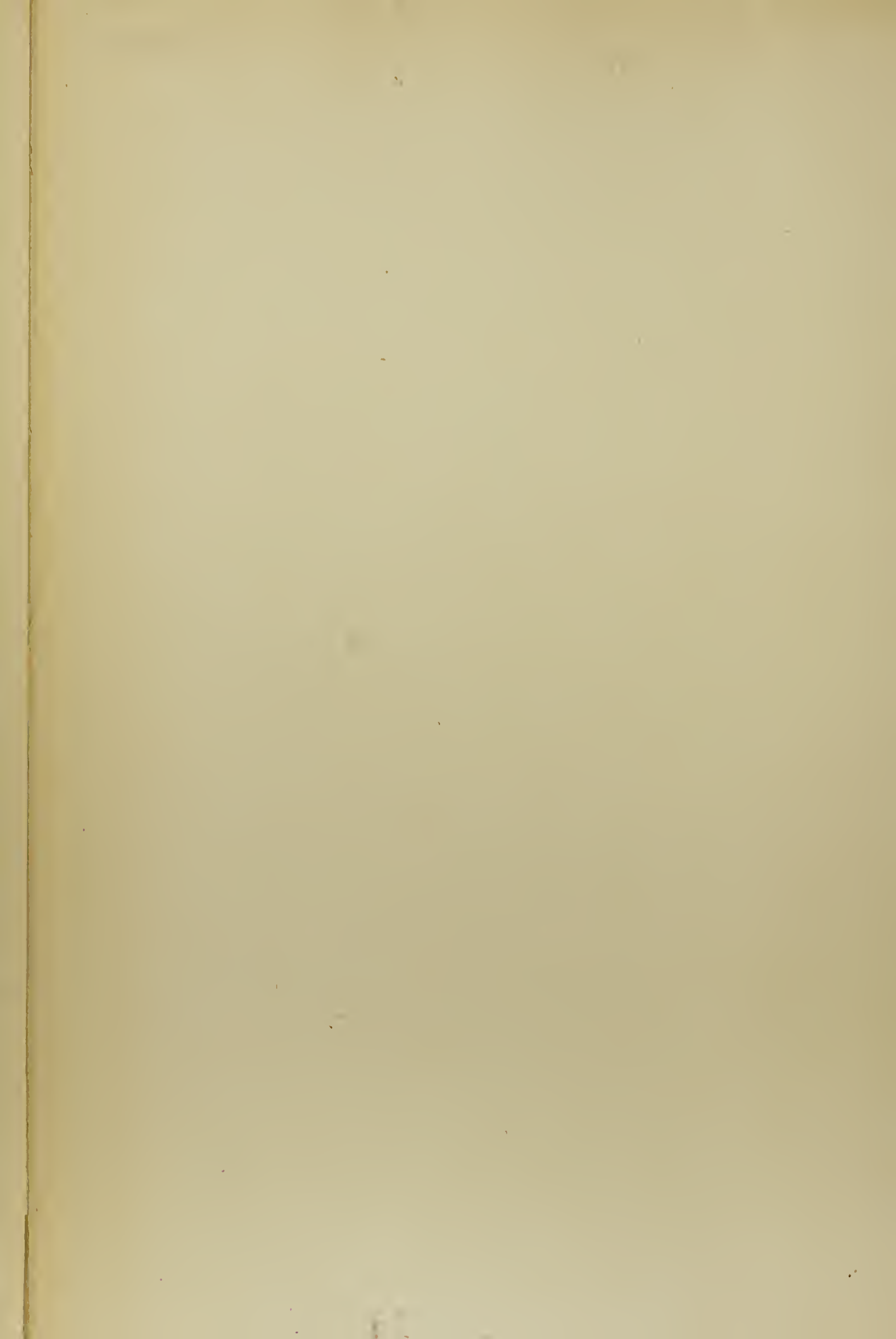
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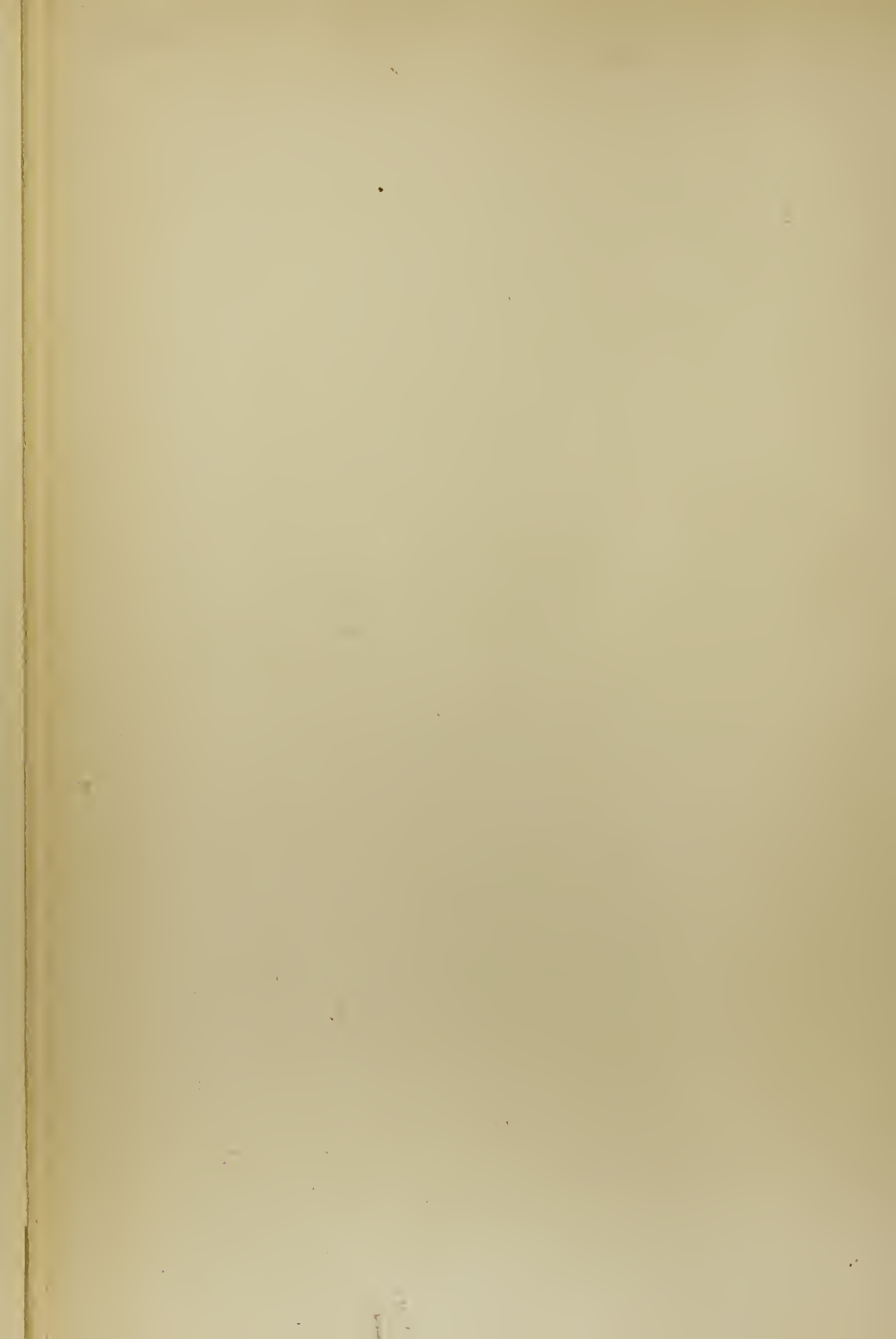
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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.





SELLIER, PINXIT

BURIAL URN

Blue glass with bas-relief of white enamel found at Pompeii

HISTORY OF ROME, AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE
BARBARIANS.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

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Containing over Three Thousand Engravings, One Hundred Maps and Plans,
AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

VOLUME IV.

SECTION ONE.

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1894.

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HISTORY OF ROME.

SEVENTH PERIOD.

THE TRIUMVIRATES AND THE REVOLUTION (79-30)

(CONTINUED).

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE ALLIED OR TRIBUTARY COUNTRIES AND THE PEOPLES BORDERING UPON THE FRONTIERS.

I. — NATIVE GOVERNMENTS.

THE provinces were not the only possessions of the Republic. Under different titles, Rome held sway over vast regions which were named the “allied countries,” because, with the semblance of independence, a doubtful liberty had been left them,—*regiones dubiae libertatis*.

Tacitus, in speaking of kings who had retained their thrones by accepting an alliance with Rome, calls them, in studied phrase, *vetus servitutis instrumentum*. But Strabo says more simply: “Of these countries which form the Roman Empire, some are governed by kings; the rest, under the name of provinces, are directly administered by the Romans; there are also some free towns; and lastly, a few countries are governed by dynasts, phylarchs, and priests, who acknowledge the sovereignty of the Republic, though they live conformably to their own laws.” These foreign princes, these magistrates of free cities, these native chiefs who made themselves the agents of Rome, gave strength to her empire without augmenting her expenses,—thus gratifying at once Roman avarice and Roman pride.

The Senate was not inclined to multiply armies and functionaries. Having to control and to defend sixty millions of men by means of a few thousand soldiers and a few hundred agents, they had governed as much as possible by natives. And they were right: for the Roman people were, among the subject nations, but an imperceptible minority; and this slender minority must not be worn out by use.

This manner of acting was not odious cunning, as Tacitus gives us to understand, but prudence. He himself elsewhere says: "Liberty was restored to the Rhodians, which had frequently been taken from them or granted to them according as they had deserved well by their services, or had impaired the public peace by domestic discords." As undisputed mistress of the world, Rome was no longer reduced to the Machiavellian combinations she had employed in the days of her weakness. The kings whom she maintained, ruled only over submissive and scanty populations; at a word from her they would fall without exciting a murmur: for they were — and all men knew them to be — but Roman proconsuls.¹ As she had left the republics of Greece their own laws, so she permitted the peoples accustomed to the authority of king or priest to retain the chief they preferred, especially in case of the nomadic tribes, who had no towns by which Rome could hold them in check; but kings, peoples, cities, — all knew that they had a master on the banks of the Tiber. In the year 29, Antiochus, king of Commagene, assassinated a deputy whom his brother was sending to Rome; he was summoned before the Senate, condemned, and executed by order of Augustus.²

The whole empire of Rome, therefore, was thus divided, — there were the countries over which she ruled directly, and the countries which she caused to be governed by native rulers. The former were those territories, like Gaul and Spain, where the conquerors had found, among thousands of barbarous states, no local government strong enough to be responsible for the submission of the country. There the Romans were obliged to transact their own business, organize an administration, open roads, and found cities. In European and Asiatic Greece they continued to speak of Hellenic

¹ Some of these kings called themselves *procurators* of the Roman people (Sall., *Bell. Jug.* 14). King Cottius in his inscription termed himself *præfectus civitatum*.

² Dion, lii. 43.

liberty, — a fiction which had so often served them; and to spare themselves the tedium of constant intervention amid quarrelsome and noisy populations, they had found it useful, notwithstanding the countries had been converted into provinces, to maintain autonomy in a great number of cities.

In more distant regions, towards Armenia and the Euphrates, it was needful to keep order on the frontiers. Who were more fitted to take this upon themselves, so far from Italy, than the native governments? By the rude lessons of Sylla and Lucullus, of Pompey and Caesar, these princes had learned Rome's strength and their own weakness. They therefore accepted their part with resignation; and, their hereditary right being in general maintained for them,¹ they looked upon their kingdom as a patrimony where it was their interest to maintain order and security.

Kings and Dynasts of Thrace and Asia Minor. — It was in Thrace that the nearest allied kings were to be found. In the civil wars of Rome they prudently divided themselves between the two factions, in order that the partisan of the conqueror might save the friend of the conquered. Rhascuporis had served Brutus; his brother Rhascus, the triumvirs, who pardoned the former for the latter's sake. By means of these alliances somewhat of Roman civilization had been introduced into the country; but the Thracians still remained Barbarians, in spite of the Latin verses of Cotys,³ and in the Haemus there dwelt wretched and ferocious tribes which lived by plunder. The colors in which Herodotus and Thucydides painted these tribes four hundred years previously were still true, for Tacitus does not vary them. The Thracians tattooed their bodies, obtained their wives by purchase, and often

RHASCUPORIS.²

¹ With consent of the Senate, and afterwards of the Emperor (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 9, 4). They often paid tribute, and furnished auxiliaries in case of war (Sall., *Bell. Jug.* 31; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 75; Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 16). The history of Herod, related in detail by Josephus, shows us the condition of these kings. They did not possess the right of making war or of disposing of their succession, and Jewish kings coined copper money only (Cavedoni, *Numismat. biblica*, Modena, 1850, p. 52). The kings of Thrace and the Bosphorus coined silver. None of these kings had the right to coin gold. These independent kingdoms were thus considered as forming an integral part of the Empire, just like the free towns; and when the Emperor ordered a census, their inhabitants were also counted (St. Luke, ii. 1).

² From a coin of the *Cabinet de France*. Bare and beardless head of Rhascuporis I.; behind it, a monogram; underneath, the date, H K T.

³ Ovid, *Epp. Pont.* ii. 9.

sold their children. They considered husbandry unworthy of a warrior, and knew no sources of gain but war and theft. To one of their gods, whom the Greeks called Hermes, they sacrificed human victims; and the sanctuary of another stood in the heart of an immense forest on the highest summit of the Rhodope. Such a people could not be great or strong. Thrace, with its scanty population, though still troublesome, was not dangerous. When barbarous tribes degenerate, when they lose their savage energy, they fall more rapidly, more hopelessly, than civilized nations. The Thracians of Thucydides were formidable; those of Tacitus are only contemptible.

In Asia more than half the domains of the Republic had retained their native chiefs. Cappadocia, a great plain frozen in winter, scorched in summer, here and there marshy, and in many places impregnated with saline substances injurious to vegetation, was nevertheless rich in grain, but without woods or fruit-trees. It lacked towns, and consequently manufactures; and it had instead many strong castles, whence the kings, their friends and



ARIOBAR-
ZANES III.,
KING OF CAP-
PADOCIA.



ARIARATHES V.

the nobles, kept in check a dull and listless population, of as evil repute at Rome as it had been at Athens as long ago as the time of Aristophanes. The Cappadocians had moreover of late greatly scandalized the Romans by refusing the liberty which the Senate had offered them. And yet their kings, who on their coins styled themselves "friends of the Romans," did not exercise over their subjects a very fatherly authority, when the revenues diminished, selling them to make good the deficiency. One of these kings, the brother of that Ariobarzanes III. whom the usurious demands of Pompey and Brutus had beggared, amused himself by stopping up an outlet of the Melas, — thus changing the whole of an immense plain into a lake. He wished to form another Aegean Sea, with islands arranged in a circle like the Cyclades; but the river burst its bounds and inundated the lands of the Galatae. The latter complained to the Senate, who caused Ariarathes to pay three hundred talents for the indulgence of this royal whim.

The most important person in the state, after the king, was the high priest of the Goddess Enyo, or Mâ. Being appointed for life, and always chosen from the royal family, he possessed all the privileges of sovereignty. At Comana six thousand slaves of both sexes were engaged in the service of the temple, and its revenues were very great. The temple of Jupiter in Morimene had three thousand slaves, with a yearly revenue of fifteen talents for the pontiff, who held the first rank below the high priest of Comana. This superstitious population was held in bondage, as we see, by its kings, its



COIN OF ARCHELAUS (OBVERSE).¹

nobles, and its priests, yielding submissively to all. Antony had driven out Ariarathes in the year 36, and given his place to Archelaus.



ARCHELAUS (REVERSE).¹

Near the Cappadocians dwelt the Galatae, formerly divided into three tribes, each of which formed four tetrarchies.

The twelve tetrarchs and the judges managed the ordinary business; but in cases of murder, a council of three hundred warriors met under the shadow of the oaks and gave their decision. This organization, a relic of the oldest time, had been gradually modified. First, each tribe had had only one chief; then all the people were divided between two princes; still later, Dejotarus received from the Senate the title of king, together with Lesser Armenia. Some time before the battle of Actium, Antony, who had little confidence in the old monarch, had given to the latter's general, Amyntas, a part of Galatia, with the mountainous regions which extend southward to the Sea of Cyprus, — a territory at this time much infested with brigands. Both were nevertheless alike guilty of defection on the eve of the battle, and by this treason saved their crowns, which Octavius left them. Pessinus, famous for its temple of Cybele, no longer



POLEMON I., KING OF PONTUS AND OF THE BOSPHORUS.

¹ Head of Archelaus. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ; a club and K in the centre. Silver coin of Archelaus.

possessed the image of the goddess,—which had been carried off to Rome some time earlier,—and its chief priests had lost the authority and the immense revenues which formerly made them equal to kings. Only its commerce remained, owing to its central position in the peninsula.

During an expedition of the Parthians into Asia Minor, Zeno, a rhetorician, had saved the city of Laodiceia. His courage and eloquence were liberally rewarded. Antony, so lavish of the title of king, awarded it justly this time in giving it to Polemon, the son of the rhetorician, together with the charge of the whole eastern frontier from the Pontus Euxinus almost to Cilicia.¹ Polemon proved so able that Octavius was not willing to punish for his alliance with Antony a man who kept watch in the interest of the Empire over the kings of Armenia. Octavius also retained the Prince of Samosata, who, in the angle included between Mount Amanus and the Euphrates, rendered the same service in the case of the Parthians; but in Eastern Cilicia he displaced the sons of Tarcondimotos, a king who had been slain at Actium in the ranks of the Antonians.

In Syria, Damascus had received a Roman garrison; but the province contained a crowd of Arab or Jewish chiefs, some of them unsubdued plunderers, others wavering between the Romans and the Parthians, and even the best being always of doubtful fidelity. Of these one has attained notoriety,—King Herod.

Herod and the Jews.—In order to become master of a state thirty or forty leagues in length, this usurper had displayed more courage, address, and cruelty, more vices and more talents, than would have sufficed for the conquest of an empire. But Herod had to deal with an unmanageable and headstrong race, and he had tamed them by punishments. He belonged to a country and an age in which death was given and accepted with an indifference which, happily, we do not comprehend; and of all those who then possessed this cruel right over human life, no one abused it as he. His friends, even his relatives, perished; his wife, the beautiful Mariamne, was beheaded; he caused two of his sons to be strangled,

¹ The Polemonian Pontus, which reached southwards as far as the sources of the Iris, formed a triangle, the extreme points of which were Zela, Polemonium, and Trapezus (Strabo, *Geograph.* xii. 577).

and five days before his death he ordered the execution of the third. Knowing well the hatred of the people, and yet anxious that his death should be mourned, he assembled the chief men of the nation in the hippodrome of Jericho, and directed that they should be massacred as soon as he had expired, so that there might be a time of mourning, and of real mourning, in the whole country. Upon his death, however, his sister Salome kept the event secret for a day, and sealed with the royal signet an order of deliverance. The East holds life cheap; it loves power and magnificence. Herod, who knew how to terrify and to dazzle, reigned thirty-four years, and received the title of Great.

He was descended from a race hateful to the Jews; his father, Antipater the Idumæan, had been Caesar's agent in Judæa, and he himself owed his fortune to Antony. After the battle of Actium he went to meet the conqueror at Rhodes, and bravely owned his friendship for his former benefactor. Octavius, tired of servilities, was pleased to meet with a man of courage; he allowed him to retain his kingdom, and increased it by all the gifts which had been made to Cleopatra at the expense of Palestine, but without lessening the enormous tax which Pompey had imposed,—the fourth part of the crops and the capitation-tax.²

COIN OF RHODES.¹CONQUEROR IN THE GAMES.⁴

These Romans seem nevertheless to have had an involuntary respect for the pure doctrines of the Mosaic worship. Strabo admires them; and notwithstanding his haughty scorn for a people of whom he knew little, the superstitious Tacitus does them homage.³ When Pompey took Jerusalem, he respected the treasures of the temple; Agrippa sacrificed there, as Alexander had formerly done; and the governors whom

¹ ΠΟΔΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΕΝ; on the left, a Victory holding a palm and a crown. Reverse of a coin of Rhodes.

² Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 10, 6.

³ Strabo, xvi. 760. Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) speaks nobly of the manner in which the Jews had conceived of the divinity: *Mente sola, unumque numen intelligunt . . . summum illud et æternum, neque mutabile neque interiturum.*

⁴ From an engraved stone (cornelian, .39 inch by .4724 inch) of the *Cabinet de France*

Rome sent to the Jews, far from taking offence at the intolerant zeal of this race, heightened the magnificence of their festivals by associating imperial authority therewith.¹ A more certain sign would be found in the privileges said to have been granted to the Jews, already scattered in great numbers throughout the provinces, — equality with the inhabitants of the towns in which they settled, without any obligation to contribute towards the expenses of the city; permission everywhere to observe their laws and feasts; and even exemption from military service. But are the edicts which give them such marvellous advantages authentic? This has been matter of doubt; some of them certainly have an air of improbability.

As the ruler of this people, Herod skilfully turned to his own advantage these traditions of the Roman policy; and he obtained the favor of Augustus, who ordered him to free the environs of Damascus from robbers. On one occasion, however, when the Jewish king pursued these bandits as far as the territories of the Nabathæan Arabs, the Emperor deemed it a serious expedition with plans of conquest, and sharply rebuked the ambition of his dependent. "Hitherto," he wrote to him, "I have treated you as a friend; for the future I shall treat you as a subject." Herod accepted the reproof with humility.

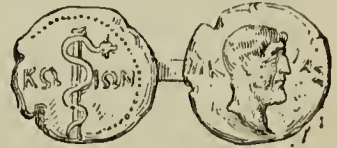
In after years, he spared no pains to please the master: statues, temples, cities of marble were erected in the Emperor's honor under the eyes of the Jews, indignant at these sacrilegious novelties; but Herod, imbued with Greek manners, was no longer an Israelitish prince. He pensioned poets at Rome; he distributed prizes at the

(Chabonillet, *op. cit.* No. 1, 869). The *auriga* carries the palm, which he has just received as a prize in the games.

¹ During the feast of the Passover the soldiers in garrison at Jerusalem were placed at the door of the temple (Joseph., *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20). Pontius Pilate had sent for a legion to come to Jerusalem with its standard; at the entreaties of the priests he consented to send the standards back to Caesarea to avoid offending the Jews by images which their religion condemned (Joseph., *ibid.* ii. 14). Tiberius also ordered him to remove from Jerusalem the shields of gold which he had caused to be placed there, the inscriptions on which, containing the names of some pagan divinities, were a source of scandal to the Jews (Philo, *De Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1033). Even under Nero a lieutenant of the governor of Syria, who had come to Jerusalem to collect information about an incipient revolt, "went up into the temple," says Josephus (*ibid.* ii. 28), "and there worshipped God and the holy shrines without penetrating farther than our religion permitted him." Lastly, the imperial officers offered sacrifices in the Emperor's name every year. When the Jews in revolt (in the time of Nero) desired that these sacrifices should be refused, the priests rebuked this demand as impiety, and appealed to the example of all times and the gifts offered by strangers in the temple, which formed its principal ornament, etc. (Joseph., *ibid.* 31).

Olympic games; he adored the divinity of the founders of the Empire; and at the same time he destroyed one after the other all the institutions dear to his nation: the high priesthood and the Sanhedrim were degraded, the national laws were despised, and terror was held over the heads of all who remained faithful to the ancient worship.

But the Jews were not confined to Judaea only. This little nation had multiplied with incredible fruitfulness,¹ and their dispersion had already begun. "It would be difficult," says Strabo, "to find a place in the habitable world



COIN OF COS.²

which has not received them, and where they have not become firmly established. At Alexandria they occupy a large part of the city, and form a kind of independent state, living under its own laws."³ At Cyrene, in Asia Minor, in Thrace, in the islands, in Corinth, they were found in great numbers; and even in Rome, where they showed such sorrow at the death of Caesar. In Babylon, Hyrcanus found a whole tribe of them. At Seleucia more than fifty thousand were killed at one time; as many more were afterwards massacred at Alexandria in the time of Nero. Since the time of Mithridates those settled in Asia Minor were rich enough to deposit at Cos eight hundred talents. Every year the temple of Jerusalem received their offerings, — a double drachma contributed by each emigrant;⁴ for, with the indomitable tenacity of their race, their prayers were always directed towards the temple of Solomon. Josephus asserts that at a festival two million seven hundred thousand Jews were counted in the holy city.⁵

It is strange to observe how two little nations, each born in a sterile land, and each of inexhaustible fruitfulness, spread over all the East and disputed for its possession. The history of Saint Paul's

¹ Unlike the Roman matron, who prided herself on the title of *unicira*, the Jewish woman considered widowhood "as a state of desolation." A large family was held a blessing. This explains how the Jewish race has survived, notwithstanding its sad history.

² ΝΙΚΙΑΣ; a bare head of Nicias, facing right. On the reverse, ΚΩΙΩΝ; serpent entwined around a staff. Bronze coin of Cos.

³ Philo (*Adv. Flac.* p. 971c) reckons that there were a million Jews in Egypt. He says (*De Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1023D) that there was a great number of them in Babylon and the neighboring satrapies. He enumerates (pp. 1031–1032) the places through which they had spread.

⁴ Cic., *Pro Flac.* 28.

⁵ *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9.

apostolic travels shows in every city synagogues side by side with the Greek schools; and as if the two civilizations were advancing to meet one another, the Jews penetrate in Greece to the very Parthenon itself, whence they menace the daughter of Zeus, and Greek civilization advances triumphantly into Judaea, and conse-



GROTTO AND SOURCE OF THE JORDAN.¹

crates to Pan and to the nymphs the grotto whence issues the River Jordan. It was in Greek that the apostles were to announce the new law of the Jews; into Greek also that the Old Testament was translated by the Seventy; and in Greek their successors were to defend it. But with the language of Plato many Platonic ideas penetrated into this long-isolated Mosaic world; regarded superficially, it would even seem that Polytheism and Judaism were about to come to an agreement, since the greatest men of Greece and

¹ The Jordan flows from the heights which rise above Hashbeya in the Anti-Libanus, and afterwards receives the waters of Banias (Pancas), which are wrongly regarded as its source, at the northern extremity of Galilee (Lartet, *Géolog. de la Palestine*, p. 21).

Rome had ceased to believe in a plurality of gods, while Josephus and Philo, like their descendants, were deistical philosophers rather than doctors of the law. But the crowd does not accept without fierce struggles those compromises which are made above their heads by great intellects, and rivers of blood must flow before a compromise is established.

In their most distant colonies the Jews were still a people by themselves, practising many different and often suspicious crafts; and in spite of their apparent humility, were full of pride for the



PAN AND A NYMPH.¹

purity of their race and their creed, full of scorn for those literary, artistic, frivolous, and gay populations from whom they derived advantage while seemingly abased before them.

In Judaea itself, to the repulsion felt by the mass of the Jews towards foreign ideas, was added all the hatred drawn upon himself by a prince who stood forth as the representative of a union considered sacrilegious, and who held this stubborn people under an unyielding despotism. Accordingly, Judaea was in a strange moral condition. Men's minds were agitated by a singular fermentation, which the enormous shock caused by the fall of the Roman

¹ Museum of Vienna. Marble group of small size. Goat-footed Pan, leaning on a leathern bottle, offers to the nymph a bunch of grapes (Clarac, *op. cit.*, pl. 735).

Republic still further increased. It was common to take refuge from the present in illusions concerning the future; the Mazdean prophecies in respect to the Liberator, which had penetrated from Persia into Palestine, strengthened, by defining it, the ancient belief in the Messiah; and the apocalyptic books announced the near approach of the glorious and holy reign of a son of David.¹ In Jerusalem six thousand Pharisees had refused the oath of fidelity to Herod, declaring that they looked for the advent of a king who should perform miracles.²

The whole of the East awaited this master, and in Judaea many believed they were called to realize the prophecy themselves.³ It was at Jerusalem, therefore, in sight of the Hellenized king now seated on the throne of David, that the great battle of the creeds was imminent.

II. — NORTHERN FRONTIER.

IN order to complete this study of the Roman world, we must notice the nations who dwelt outside the frontier of the Empire, who were incessantly connected with its history, and some of whom were at last even included within its limits.

The Britons. — Britain was linked with Gaul by a population of kindred origin, by its Druids, who were affiliated with those of the Continent, and by some commercial relations, but not as yet by political dependence. Notwithstanding his double expedition, Caesar had been satisfied with a small tribute, which the islanders soon forgot to pay. Octavius, after a few threats, relinquished this

¹ The Messiah was not only expected by the Jews, who had spread throughout the whole of western Asia, but by the worshippers of Ormuzd, whose triumph was announced by the *Vendidad* and the greater number of the religious writings of the Mazdeans. It is from the blending of the ideas contained in the songs of the Hebrew prophets with the Persian doctrines that the apocalypses sprang, of which the first is the Book of Daniel, and the last, or at least the most famous, that of Saint John. Cf. Michel Nicholas, *Doctrines religieuses des Juifs durant les deux siècles antérieures à l'ère chrétienne*, p. 266 *sqq.*

² Κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὰ πάντα εἶναι, etc. (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xvii.).

³ See in Josephus (*ibid.*) the troubles which broke out in Judaea on the death of Herod. A shepherd declared himself king; a former servant of Herod also took this title. Varus required no less than three legions, with the auxiliary troops of the neighboring kings, to quell the disturbances. He caused two thousand Jews to be crucified.

bad debt completely, perceiving that the conquest of Britain was less necessary to the safety of Gaul than the proconsul had believed it to be.¹

But Caesar had judged rightly in respect to the east of Gaul. Beyond the Rhine there was a danger ever to be feared, inasmuch as the tribes who thronged the whole length of the river were the vanguard of that barbaric world which had been for centuries on the march towards the countries of the West.² Never had the Gauls been able to defend the passage of the river;³ the Belgae and the Cimbri had crossed it, and the Suevi had for some time held a province in Gaul. The one hundred and twenty thousand warriors of Ariovistus were the front rank of that great nation whose tribes reached from the sources of the Danube to the Baltic Sea. Therefore Caesar's victory did not break up its power; and it was from these Germans that the Usipii and Tenctheri were fleeing when they encountered the proconsul's legions, and were thrown back, after a furious engagement, across the Rhine. We have seen the measures taken by Agrippa to prevent a renewal of these attempts; but the ability of the leaders, the courage of the legions, and all defensive precautions served only to postpone the evil. When she came into collision with Germany, Rome entered upon a war which, beginning on the shores of the Rhine with Ariovistus, was to end on the banks of the Tiber with Alaric.

The Germans. — The legions had not yet alarmed the Germans sufficiently to cause the latter, under the threat of invasion, to bring their tribes together and to form vast confederations, as later they found it needful to do. In their boundless plains and under their venerable forests, of which one was sixty days' journey in length, seethed a chaos of prolific tribes (*gens numerosa*), which were invincible, because a foreign invader would not have known where to attack them. There were no cities in which the national life was centred; there were only poor villages scattered over the cantons

¹ Strabo, in this place echoing the policy of Augustus and Tiberius, says: "It is reckoned that the amount of taxes the islanders pay on our merchandise exceeds what an annual tribute would yield, deducting the pay of troops necessary to guard the island and collect the taxes there."

² *Quum videret Germanos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam venirent* (Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 16).

³ *Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire* (Caesar, *ibid.* i. 33).

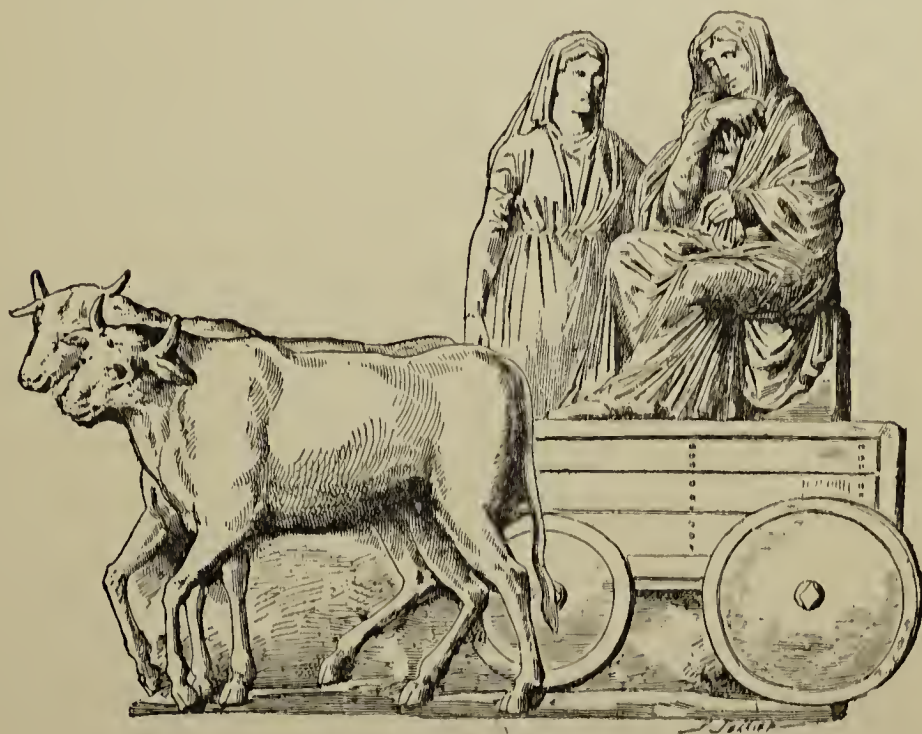
(*pau*). There were no temples, for these Germans were not capable of building any; no statues of the gods, for they knew not how to make them: they worshipped Nature, which their descendants still love so well,—the earth, springs, mountains, the forests full of mystery and religious terrors. There was no sacerdotal class, nor any warlike aristocracy to hold them under the yoke, though they acknowledged the right of their priests to punish certain offences. But there were soothsayers, male and female; sacrifices of horses, sometimes of men; and the seeking of the future in the entrails of victims.¹ Lastly, their chiefs were selected from among the bravest warriors.² Though the kings, chosen out of consecrated families, owed this dignity to their birth, they were merely representatives of their people, having no other prerogative than that of maintaining national unity; the council of chiefs, and afterwards the people, discussed the more important affairs (*de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes*), and decision was given by vote of arms, striking their swords against their bucklers. They did not even intrust public authority with the punishment of private crimes; the offended party himself avenged his injury, or he and his friends compelled the aggressor to pay a compensation in cattle.

Thus among the Germans neither religion nor social organization restrained the impetuosity of their fiery nature; and this freedom, this hot-blooded intensity, they expended in battles or in games almost as terrible, leaping amid threatening swords and spears, or, seated on their shields, sliding down steep mountain slopes, shooting the ravines that yawned in their path. After victory came endless orgies, in which all the booty taken in the war was expended. Rousing themselves again, they began afresh their distant expeditions. For a free man, a son of that god Tuisto whom they celebrated in

¹ The head of a family consulted fate just as the priest did, and the king or chief took the auspices with the priest for guidance in public affairs. If religion had particular servants for certain ceremonies, it was still no monopoly. Cf. Tac., *Germ.* 10 and 11. Caesar says that they had neither a sacerdotal body nor sacrifices, and Tacitus that they had neither temples nor images. In the time of the latter writer they had not yet received the worship of Wodin, nor the mythology and the heroic traditions whence arose the *Edda* and the *Nibelungen*.

² *Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt* (Tac., *ibid.* 7). There was, however, a kind of hereditary nobility,—a rank gained by great services (*ibid.* 12). These peoples had no common name. The Romans gave them that of “German” (*Wehrman*), which signifies combatant, warrior; they adopted, at a comparatively modern epoch, that of *Deutsche* (Waitz, *Verfassungsgesch.* p. 9). [The standard work on all questions of German antiquity is now Müllenhoff’s *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*. — Ed.]

their national songs,¹ did no work; he would have blushed to earn by the sweat of his brow what he could win by bloodshed. His slaves, taken in war or bought, and his wife had the care of his flock, which was his chief wealth, or else they tilled the field; as for him, he never, even at a feast, laid aside his weapons. Like the American Indian, he considered the chase and fighting the only occupations fit for a warrior.² The Teuton religion reflected



GERMAN PRIESTESS IN A CHARIOT DRAWN BY OXEN.³

the habits and inmost thoughts of its believers; in the Walhalla, the Olympus of the Germans, there were only continual battles and prolonged feasts.

The German women were fit companions for their husbands.

¹ *Tuistonem* must be a false reading from the *Germania* of Tacitus; it ought to be read *Teutonem* (Holtzmann, *Erklärung von Tacitus Germania*).

² The *Suevi*, says Caesar (*De Bell. Gall.* iv. 1, vi. 22), are not acquainted with individual ownership of the soil. Every year the chiefs assigned to each his lot. The same social condition still existed in the time of Tacitus (*Germ.* 26); it afterwards changed, thanks to the neighborhood of the Gaulo-Romans, whose customs by degrees extended into Germany. Moreover, the house of the German and his inclosure, which doubtless formed the "salic land," were naturally excluded, as was lately the case in Russia, from the annual distribution, which applied only to what we call the communal property.

³ From the column of Marcus Aurelius, called also the Antonine column.

On the day of the betrothal, they received as a gift some oxen, a war-horse, and a buckler, with the sword and the spear;¹ these masculine gifts were designed to teach them that they would have to take their part in dangers: *sic vivendum, sic percundum*. Blood did not terrify them. "The German brings his wounds to his mother or his wife, and she does not hesitate to count the hurts and to probe their depth. In the fray the women cheer and encourage the combatants. It is said that armies have been seen wavering and half broken which women have rallied to the charge, showing captivity to be worse than death. . . . Accordingly, the Germans believe that there is in this sex something divine and prophetic. They do not despise their counsels or forget their predictions."

At Rome it was by assuming the toga, the dress of the city and of peace, that the young man became a citizen; among the Germans he could not sit among the warriors until he had received in the public assembly the buckler and the lance. From that day he attached himself to some renowned leader. "There is," says Tacitus, "a great emulation among comrades for the highest place about the chief, and among the chiefs to possess the most numerous and the bravest comrades. In action it would be disgraceful for the chief to be outdone in courage; for his companions, not to equal him in bravery." This association for peril and glory formed the adventurous bands which for four centuries were to harass the Roman Empire, dealing it a thousand blows for one that it was able to parry.

Germany was not entirely parcelled out into these isolated groups, redoubtable for pillage, for a bold raid, but incapable of maintaining a serious struggle against organized troops. She had large tribes who occasionally acted as a national body, and then became formidable. The Cimbri, the Teutones, the Suevi, and the Tenctheri, whom we have seen in Gaul,—the Bructeri, the Chauci, the Cherusci, and the Marcomanni, whom the legions were to fight in Germany,—were powerful bodies of men. The former had already made the soldiers of Marius and Caesar tremble; the latter were to destroy the legions of Varus.

¹ This was the germ of the dowry of our mediæval customs, the husband portioning the wife. The barbaric laws also called upon the wife to share conquests; this was the commencement of community (De Valroger, *Les Celtes*, p. 170).

Below the warriors were the *lites*, who, without being slaves, were not free; they were the remnants or descendants of conquered tribes. They had wives and children; they could appear in a court of justice: but they were not admitted to the public assembly, and they labored for the profit of those who had taken them under their patronage (*mundium*).

Tacitus relates that this rude and brutal society treated the slave with kindness, respected women, opened every house to the



GERMAN FAMILY.¹

stranger, and guaranteed to the accused the judgment of his peers. More than one custom of feudal Europe was there contained in germ. Those kings, for example, whom we find without power, but surrounded with religious respect, were afterwards to leave their forests and their obscurity to ascend the throne of Clovis; and some of those chiefs to whom their companions gave themselves for life and death were the ancestors of feudal lords, who in turn owed their power to the devotion of their vassals.² When these

¹ From the Antonine column.

² I do not mean that the French nobles of the Middle Ages were descended from the Germans. After the invasions, the principle of Roman, Gallic, and German clientage, — namely,

fierce and formidable warriors, half-clad in skins of the aurochs or the bear, sang their wild songs there was no heart so brave that it did not tremble; and yet their blue and dreamy eyes, their ruddy faces shaded by yellow hair, showed that these wild children would grow calm and suffer themselves to be led by the friendly voice that should know how to awaken their simple instincts. The softened Sicambrian would droop his head to listen to the birds of the air, the thousand mysterious voices of the great forests; in time, to the hymns of priests straying among the arches of Gothic cathedrals; still later he became the dreamy poet or inquiring scholar: but always keeping somewhat of his native brutality, and often his ignorance of good and evil.

Many of the features of this picture are borrowed from the poetic historian who delighted in embellishing the virtues of the Barbarians in order to contrast them with the vices of the Romans. The *Germania* of Tacitus is the historic gospel of the Teutons, and they have extracted from it many admirable ideas for the honor of their race. With imprudent generosity, French scholars have long supported them in their claim to see in modern civilization no factor but Germanism (*das Germanenthum*), as if the other nations had remained inert and silent in the presence of the new revelation coming down from the Germanic Sinai. In declining, as we have done, to endow the Gauls with all the virtues which have been attributed to them, we gain the right of refusing to the Germans the glory which they confer on themselves. The truth is, that for four centuries this race of plunderers was the scourge of the world; and Gregory of Tours answers Tacitus when he points out the evil and coarse instincts of these men, who had no respect for oaths, no pity for the conquered, and no faith towards women, children, and the weak. "Search with care," says a very learned man, "what civilization owes to the conquerors of the Empire of the West; it will be very difficult to find any good for which we can give them the credit."¹

the devotion of man to man, — again appeared, owing to the circumstances in which the new society was placed. That of the devotion of citizen to city, which had made the great republics of Greece and Rome, remained obscurely preserved in old municipalities, where it reappeared gloriously at the time of the communal revolution.

¹ Guérard, *Prolégomènes du Polyptyque d'Irminon*, i. 300. I find my words confirmed by the recent work of Siekel (*Gesch. der deutschen Staatsverfassung*), who says (p. 59)

Why did not Rome subdue Germany as she did Gaul? On the bank of the Rhine the Græco-Roman world came to an end with its semi-barbarous Gauls, who were soon to be no longer Barbarians; across the river began an unknown world, where Rome found none to prepare the way for her. In Africa, Carthage; in Spain, the Phœnicians and the Greeks; in Gaul, Massilia; in Asia, the successors of Alexander, — had struggled and conquered for her in advance: everywhere she had found a point of support, a work of assimilation begun. Here there was nothing; not a glimpse of antique civilization had crossed the Rhine and the Danube to guide her steps and illuminate her path over this soil deluged with the sluggish waters of rivers or hidden under impenetrable forests. And this world, where seethed an exuberant life, she reached at the moment when she herself had lost her martial vigor, when her work was accomplished, and she sought only to fall asleep amid pleasure and peace! Here we see the great danger of the Empire.

The Dacians. — The danger is usually perceived only on the Rhine, because there the most resounding blows were struck: but it existed also on the Danube; and Barbarism was endeavoring to emerge by both gates at once. Even before the battle of Actium the legions had been obliged to hasten to the two frontiers of Germany. Agrippa had pacified the Rhine, and Octavius had penetrated into the Valley of the Danube through conquered Illyria and terrified Pannonia. We have seen that he left twenty-five cohorts in Segesta, the strongest place in the latter province. But this expedition had been a bold raid, and the garrison established in the Pannonian city was but an outpost rashly sent to a distance from the body of the army. All round Segesta and on the other side of the river dwelt warlike tribes, a mixture of Gauls, Illyrians, Thracians, and Germans, from whom a surprise was always to be expected. Had not the Bastarnæ, who were now taking refuge with the Getae, on one occasion set out for Italy; and had not the Scordisci afterwards held sway from the banks of the Save to the heart of Thrace, and even to the shores of the Adriatic?

In the midst of their deserts these half-nomadic hordes are like

that this race had no sense of right beyond that which existed in the army of Clovis, and that the vaunted *deutsche Treue* is mere legend [like the virtues ascribed in Cooper's novels to the cruel and faithless Red Indians. — Ed.]

waves, which in a calm run idly along the shore, but are heaped up by the winds into furious billows. At the voice of an able and resolute man these tribes often united for a time and established formidable empires. A Getan, Byrebistas, had recently obtained the supreme authority among his people, by employing Attila's policy of fanning the flame of religious and military fanaticism.¹ All had submitted to him, from the Euxine to Noricum.² The Boii, driven out of Italy, having at first found refuge among these peoples, Byrebistas had forced them to flee once more towards the Vindelici, and had turned their country into a desert; the Taurisci had met with the same fate,—an unexpected retaliation for the incursions of these robber-tribes into Upper Italy; Thrace, as far as the frontiers of Macedonia, had been laid waste; and the Romans already conceived the most serious alarm, when in an insurrection this great chief perished, and with him his empire.

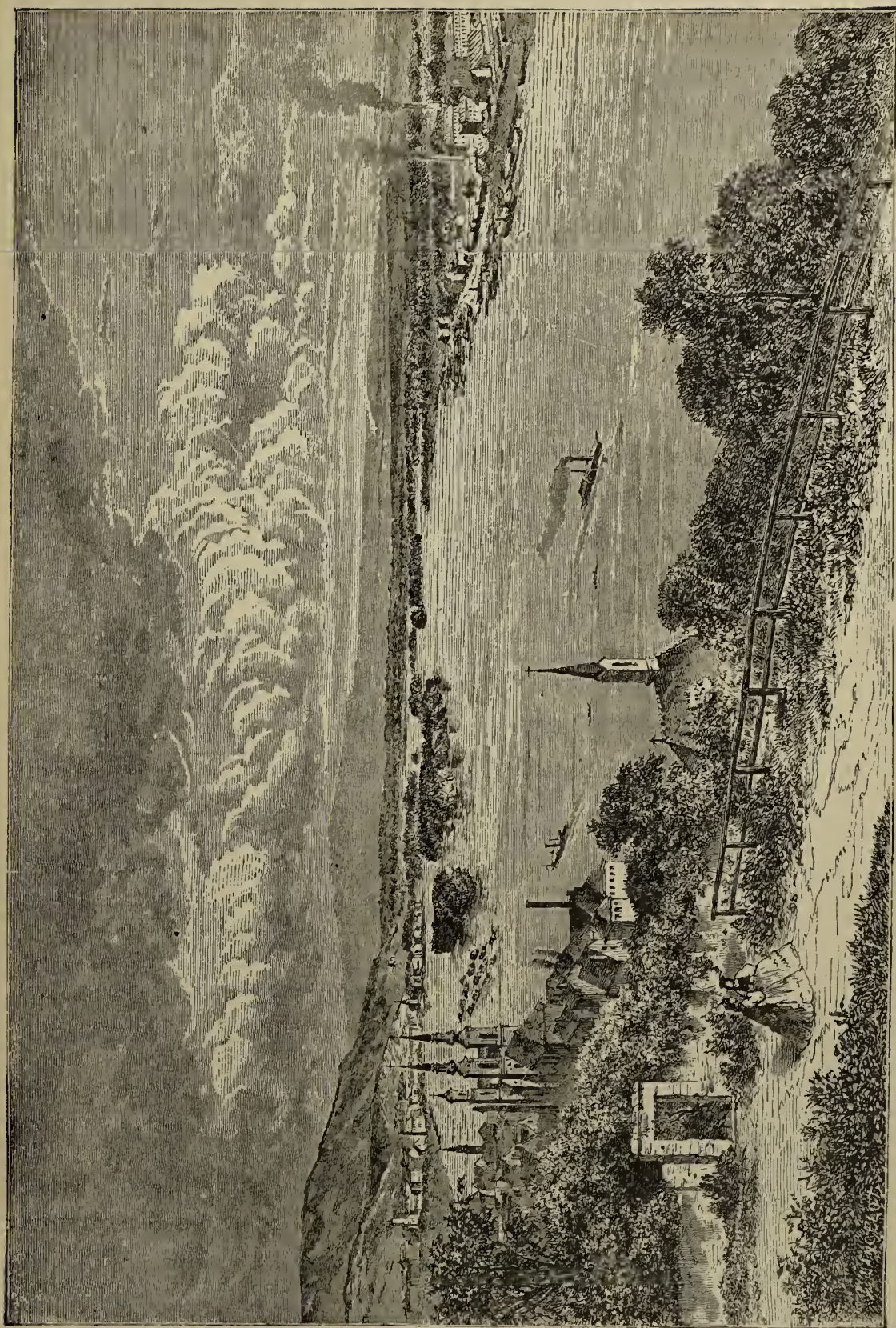
Broken up into five petty states, the Dacians had lost all ambition. However, they could still arm forty thousand fighting men; and it was less on account of the Pannonians than as a protection against the Dacians that Octavius had left twenty-five cohorts in Segesta. Events justified these alarms. The greatest military disgrace of the Empire was to be inflicted on it by this people. The Cherusci, indeed, destroyed Varus and three legions; but the Dacians compelled Domitian to pension their chiefs.

Like so many great rivers, the Danube has but a shallow entrance into the sea; thus no important town had arisen near its mouth. The Bastarnae, the Getae, and the Sarmatae, armed with poisoned arrows, roved upon its banks, waiting till, crossing the bridge of ice with which winter spans the river, they might carry off a few captives and a meagre booty from the other side.³ Herodotus gives the Getae a good reputation; he terms them the noblest and most just of the Thracians. "The belief of the Getae in respect

¹ There has been much discussion about the Daci, the Getae, and the Thracians, and it must long continue; because what we know of the Getic language is only a hundred and forty-four proper names, which is not enough to determine the character of this dialect. It seems probable, however, that all the tribes established on the two banks of the lower Danube—the Daci north of the river, the Getae south, the Thracians in the Balkans and towards the Aegæan Sea—have had a common origin. Again, Wietersheim connects the Getae with the Goths, while acknowledging that they must have been long separated.

² Strabo, vii. 3, 5.

³ Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 9.



THE DANUBE (NEAR LINZ).

to immortality," he says, "is this: they think that they do not really die, but that when they depart this life they go to Zalmoxis.¹ To this god every five years they send a messenger, who is chosen by lot out of the whole nation, and charged to bear him their several requests. Their mode of sending him is this. A number of them stand in order, each holding in his hand three darts;

DACIAN COMBATANTS.²

others take the man who is to be sent to Zalmoxis, and swinging him by his hands and feet, toss him into the air so that he falls on the points of the weapons. If he is pierced and dies, they think that the god is propitious to them; but if not, they lay the fault on the messenger, who, they say, is a wicked man. And so they choose another to send away. The messages are

¹ This Zalmoxis was the Thracian Dionysos and the Phrygian Sabazios. Funeral inscriptions have been found in Thrace recalling the joys promised to those initiated into the Dionysian mysteries (Fr. Lenormant, *Voie eleusinienne*, 410-412).

² Bas-relief from the Museum of the Louvre, No. 349 of the Clarac Catalogue. This beautiful fragment may have belonged to a triumphal arch. The dress of the Barbarian — two tunics, one with long, the other with short sleeves — is the same as that of the Daci sculptured on Trajan's column. The conical hut of reeds adorned with branches of oak recalls the habitations of the Germans.

given while the man is still alive. This same people, when it lightens and thunders, aim their arrows at the sky, uttering threats against the god ; and they do not believe that there is any god but their own." It is difficult for us to reconcile these customs of the Getae with the old historian's commendation.

Scythians and Sarmatians. — Beyond the Getae, as far as the Palus Maeotis, the whole fertile coast of the Euxine was abandoned to the Barbarians. The Scythians of Herodotus still wandered there, living on horse-flesh and mares' milk. They had no other dwelling than the wagons in which they continually journeyed from the banks of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) to those of the Tanaïs (Don). One of their tribes, the Royal Scythians, exercised a kind of supremacy over the rest of the nation, and furnished the king, by whom the religious and political unity of the race was maintained. Nevertheless, each horde had its separate chief, its particular religion and customs. Some of the Scythians had settled along the Borysthenes and the Hypanis (Bug), where they cultivated grain ; and others had come under the influence of the Greek colony of Olbia.

These tribes seemed to be unconquerable. "They make it impossible for the enemy who invades them," says Herodotus, "to escape destruction, while they themselves are entirely out of his reach, unless it please them to engage with him. Having neither cities nor forts, and carrying their dwellings with them wherever they go ; accustomed, moreover, one and all of them to shoot from horseback ; and living, not by husbandry, but on their cattle, their wagons the only houses that they possess, — how can they fail of being unconquerable, and unassailable even ?" ¹

East of the Tanaïs dwelt the Sarmatae, who were for a time to inherit the power of the Scythians, and in their turn be replaced by the Slavs, — tribes long in obscurity, but for whom the half of Europe and a third of Asia does not now seem to be enough.

Thucydides said of the Scythian nations that they would have been irresistible had they been united.² Distance deceived the grave historian. These half-unknown peoples, who had defied

¹ The *Tristia* and *Pontic Epistles* of Ovid, the *Toxaris* of Lucian, the inscription of Olbia (No. 2,058 of the *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*), Strabo (vii. 3, 4), and Pausanias (viii. 43, 3) describe the Scythians in the same manner as Herodotus.

² Thueyd., ii. 97.

SCYTHIAN VASE OF SILVER.¹

Darius in Europe and Alexander in Asia, appeared indeed very strong; but, like their descendants, they were much stronger for resistance than for conquest. Rome, protected against them by the

¹ This silver vase was found in 1862 at Nicopolis, in Southern Russia, in the sepulchre of a Scythian king. It is now in the Museum of St. Petersburg. It is a curious and beautiful specimen of ancient silver work. Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq.* p. 803, s. v. *Caelatura*.

Carpathians and the Danube, had nothing to fear from them; and the Greek colonies established on the banks of the Euxine lived without any great anxiety in the neighborhood of these Barbarians, paying tribute to some, waging war against others, and endeavoring to allure the nearest to Hellenic civilization. One of these Scythian kings had caused an immense house to be built in Olbia, adorned with sculptured sphinxes and griffins.¹ At the mouth of the Don there was even a flourishing Greek kingdom, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which, while forming an independent state, was on that side a vanguard, as it were, of the civilized world,—a sentinel of the Empire thrown out into the midst of the Scythian nations.

III. — EASTERN AND SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

Kingdom of the Bosphorus and Peoples of the Caucæsus.—This kingdom had been left by Pompey to the parricidal son of the great Mithridates. Pharnaces had dared to oppose Caesar; and this audacity had cost him his crown and his life. Asander, whom he had left as regent in his states, had murdered him on the former's return from his unfortunate expedition (47 B. C.), and forthwith seized the government. At the time with which we are concerned, Asander possessed this kingdom, which, by its commerce, was the centre of the transactions of the Roman world with the East, and by its fertility the granary of the Oriental provinces.

Since the time when the Parthians had closed to commerce the routes of Central Asia, the products of Upper Asia reached Europe by the Caspian Sea and the Bosphorus. Caravans from the Greek cities went out to meet them beyond the Volga, whither the gold of the Ural was brought; and at this point of contact between the civilized and the barbaric world immense sales were made of the commodity at that time most common, but notwithstanding most in demand,—the human being, the slave. But the mountaineers of the Caucasus infested with their piracies the eastern waters of the Euxine. Large and strong vessels were not necessary to them. A few planks joined

¹ Karamsin, *Hist. de Russie*, vol. i. p. 5 of the French translation.

by ropes, with neither iron nor copper, made a boat, and in a day a whole fleet left the dockyard and the port. If the sea became rough, they added a few boards to the sides. The higher the waves dashed, the higher the frail wall rose. Finally, they closed it in the form of an arch, then boldly abandoned themselves to the waves, and landed where the wind threw them.¹ Some Greeks, however, still remained in this region; Dioscurias, on the boundary of Colchis, traded, it is said, with three hundred tribes.

The isthmus separating the Euxine from the Caspian Sea is cut by two valleys,—that of the River Phasis, or the country Colchis,² extending to the Euxine; and that of the Cyrus, or Iberia and Albania, which opens on the Caspian. Both lead to the Caucasian Gates,—a narrow pass cleft by Nature between inaccessible mountains and barred by an iron gate.³

The Colchi, who are supposed to have been descendants of a colony left by Sesostriis on the banks of the Phasis, had formerly been celebrated for their wealth and industry; but at this time their country no longer supplied anything more than the materials necessary for naval constructions. These, however, it furnished in great abundance; for on the very shore of the sea rose mountains from four to five thousand feet high, covered with thick forests. This rude soil produced a robust race, industrious and brave, whose warlike virtues have been greatly extolled. Rome had probably already placed them under the government of Polemon, who had obtained part of Pontus from Antony, and who afterwards received from Augustus the kingdom of the Bosphorus, with the charge of preserving order in those distant regions.



POLEMON I.,
CROWNED
WITH A
DIADEM.

The Eastern Iberians might be divided into two classes: the more numerous, inhabiting the mountainous region, were very warlike; the others, in the plain, tilled their fields and preferred to live in peace. Their customs resembled those of the Armenians or the Medes, and from their Eastern neighbors they borrowed the system

¹ Tac., *Hist.* iii. 47.

² A maternal uncle of Strabo had been, under Mithridates, governor of Colchis (xi. 499).

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 12; *Ubi fores obdita ferratis trabibus . . . terrarum orbe portis discluso.* It is now the defile of Dariel, on the road from Mosdok to Tiflis, on the banks of the Terek. The valley between Laars and Dariel is so shut in that in the longest days the sun reaches it only for a few hours.

of castes. The king and his family, with the nobles, formed the first; the priests, who were at the same time judges, the second; the soldiers and husbandmen the third; the common people, slaves of the king, who were subject to all kinds of drudgery, the fourth. Property in each family was held in common, but was managed by the eldest of the house, who alone ruled.¹ Many features of this picture would still apply to the Georgians of to-day.

The Albanians differed little from the Iberians, and Strabo bears witness that, like the latter race, they had only a moderate delight in war. We thus understand how the Alani, who dwelt northward



CYLINDER OF CHALCEDONY FOUND IN A TOMB OF THE CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS.²

from the Caucasus, were able easily to force those formidable defiles. Herdsmen, devoted to the care of their flocks, could not be a serious obstacle to a people who took their enemies' scalps and adorned themselves with the hair.

Armenia. — Armenia is the tableland whence the Tigris and the Euphrates descend, and from which radiate the mountains covering Western Asia. The Caucasus, an isolated wall, half Asiatic, half European, runs in the same general direction with the principal mountain-chains of the eastern continent, sending off southwards only short branches, which lose themselves in the isthmus which is intersected by the Phasis (Rhion) and the Cyrus (Kour). Ararat, on the contrary, may be considered the geological centre of all

¹ Herod., ii. 102-106; Strabo, xi. 498, etc.

² It represents a king of Persia dragging four prisoners and seizing the hostile chief.

the chains of Asia Minor, Syria, and Media. This great mountain, which rears its volcanic mass, crowned with eternal snow, seventeen thousand feet above the Euxine, is called by the Armenians "the Mother of the World," and by the Turks "the Mountain of Noah;" and from afar the latter point out upon its summit the spot where rested the ark. "Spirits armed with flaming swords guard the sacred vessel, green as the grass of the mountain slopes."¹ These traditions show that Ararat early attracted the attention of the races inhabiting its vicinity; but its historic is even greater than its legendary importance. It makes Armenia in Western Asia what Switzerland is in Europe; that is to say, a natural fortress, a commanding position holding the key to the surrounding countries. Hence the strategical importance of Armenia in the wars of the Romans with the Parthians. Did the former obtain possession of this high tableland, the Parthians were threatened on their flank; did the latter, they could overrun the Roman provinces with their innumerable cavalry.

Unluckily for itself, Armenia was incessantly involved in the history of the two empires, becoming the battlefield of their intrigues and their arms. To the evils of war were added internal discords, which caused it to be divided between its two formidable neighbors, both of whom it hated, and to receive at their hands ten kings in less than fifty years. In 30 B. C. Artavasdes, who had, four years earlier, been taken captive to Alexandria by Antony, had there been put to death by Cleopatra. "But," says Tacitus, "Artaxias, his son, for his father's sake hating us, defended himself and his kingdom by the forces of the Arsacidae." Augustus later reduced this dangerous independence to order.

The Parthians.—These Arsacidae, who had already twice conquered the legions, divided with the Romans the dominion over the known world, and seemed to be the most formidable danger which the Empire had to fear. They took the old Persian title of King of kings; for upon them were dependent a great number of princes, — the kings of Bactriana, of Media Atropatene, of Armenia, of Adiabene, of Elymais, of Persis, and of Characene, — and they were allied to the chiefs of the numerous hordes of Parthian

¹ Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie*, vi. 249.

origin, who, under the name of Massagetae and Alani, occupied the country between Lake Aral and the River Tanaïs. From the Indus to the Euphrates all the nations appeared to be subject to



ATTAMBILUS, KING
OF CHARACENE.²

their power, and they had often threatened Asia Minor and Syria. But what the Rhine was to Roman civilization the Euphrates was to the Hellenic; upon its banks the Greek world ended.¹ All the countries west of the Euphrates readily entered into the Roman Empire; but beyond, both Nature and the race were different. Neither the Romans nor the Parthians had any interest in displacing these barriers; and had they desired it they would not have succeeded, for the reason that other laws than force preside over the formation of those great bodies which we term empires. The Germans might overrun Gaul, actuated by the need of giving themselves space, sun, and a more comfortable life; impelled, too, by the warlike organization of their tribes. But these Parthians, who lived on horseback and in tents, what could they do in Libanus or Taurus? Would they shut themselves up in the five hundred towns of Asia, — they who did not even enter Seleucia, which had remained a Greek colony at the gates of Ctesiphon?³

This empire had, moreover, only the semblance of greatness and strength. Feudalism, which it has been customary to attribute only to Mediæval Europe, has prevailed in Asia from the earliest ages. Under the kings there appears a powerful aristocracy, having the *surenas*, or generals, for its chiefs, who could bestow or take away the crown, with the restriction only that the king must be chosen from the eldest branch of the Arsacidae.⁴ To counterbalance this influence, the kings were accustomed to associate with

¹ As far as social organization went, but not with regard to literature and language; for Greek was spoken in all the Oriental courts, and we find the Parthian kings assume on their coins the title of ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ.

² From a coin of the year 14 n. c. (*Cabinet de France*).

³ Cf. Tac., *Ann.* vi. 42, and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 30. Seleucia sustained against the Parthians a siege which lasted four years (Tac., *Ann.* xi. 9; cf. *ibid.* ii. 1 *sqq.*). The Monument of Ancyra calls the satraps *principes et reges*. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 29) says: *Regna Parthorum duodeviginti sunt omnia, ita enim dividunt provincias*.

⁴ Strabo (xi. 515) speaks of two electoral councils, one composed of members of the royal family, the other of sages and magi. Unfortunately, Strabo refers for details to his historical memoirs, which are lost, a whole book of which he had devoted to the customs of the Parthians.

themselves during their lifetime one of their sons; but as they rarely chose the eldest, and as the brothers of the one selected always found some of the nobles to support their claim, this choice became a source of crimes and of wars, and the throne of the King of kings was rendered most insecure. Now that the external policy of Rome became more systematic and vigilant, the Emperors never failed to have at hand some one of the Arsacidae, thus keeping the court of Ctesiphon in perpetual dread of a revolution.

One event will sufficiently describe this barbaric monarchy, of origin too recent not to be still capable of some great effort against a foreign foe, — on condition that the need for it should not too often arise, — but too badly organized and too chaotic to be truly formidable. Two Jews, Asineus and Asileus, weavers, in the town of Nierda, being beaten by their master, took refuge in an island of the Euphrates and called round them all the desperate men of the neighborhood. Their band rapidly increased, and they were very soon strong enough to levy tribute on the country, slaughtering the flocks of those who refused, but promising to protect the rest. The report of this reached King Artabanus, and the governor of Babylon received orders to collect as many troops as possible and break up the band. The satrap was defeated, to the great delight of the prince, who, charmed with the courage of the two brothers, desired to see them, and made them sit down at his table. “His object,” says the author of this narrative, “was to gain the Jews, that the fear caused by them might keep the nobles to their duty; for the latter used to threaten to revolt as soon as they saw the king occupied elsewhere.” One of the Parthian generals, indignant at the honors paid to these miscreants, desired to kill them even at the monarch’s table. “Do nothing to harm them,” said the king; “they have received my pledge. But if you insist on avenging the Parthians for the disgrace they have endured, when these men have departed, attack them openly, without involving me in the affair.” The next day he dismissed the two brothers. “It is not well,” he said, “for you to remain here longer; you would incur the hatred of my generals,



COIN OF A KING
OR GOVERNOR OF
BABYLONIA.¹

¹ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΥ ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ; a Victory standing. Bronze coin.

and they would attempt your life, without asking my leave. I commend to you the province of Babylon; protect it from the ravages which might be committed there. You owe me this because I have not listened to those who desired your death."

The two Jews returned to their island and long dwelt there, unmolested by the governors, revered by the Babylonians, whom they protected, and all-powerful in Mesopotamia. More than once these bandits allowed themselves to indulge in royal whims, following the example of the great lords of the neighborhood. Thus Anileus one day saw the wife of a satrap, fell in love with her, and, to enable him to marry her, made an organized attack upon the husband and killed him in the fight. On another occasion he pillaged the lands of one Mithridates, who, collecting a numerous body of cavalry, attempted to avenge himself. Being conquered and made prisoner, he was placed quite naked on an ass and led about for a long time amid hootings, after which the Jews had the audacity to send him away free. This Mithridates was nevertheless the greatest lord among the Parthians, and even the son-in-law of the king! And it was in the heart of the monarchy, in the provinces where the court resided, that these unpunished revolts, these insults to the royal majesty, these private wars, recalling our own feudal times, took place! It will easily be seen that the Roman Empire, with its thorough discipline, could not be injured by enemies like these.

Nomadic Tribes of Asia and Africa.—“The Euphrates,” says Strabo, “separates the Parthians from the Romans; but along the river-bank dwell Arabs, who obey neither, and levy contributions upon merchants and travellers.” The whole line of the southern frontiers was in the same way bordered with troublesome, though not dangerous, tribes. South of Palestine the Nabathæan Arabs formed, in the peninsula of Mount Sināi, a kingdom, whose chief, being an enemy of the Jewish king, sought protection against him at Rome. Its capital, Petra, two days’ march from any inhabited country, was the centre of the commerce of Yemen with Southern Asia and Europe. Accordingly, the Roman merchants repaired thither; and like Palmyra, that other queen of the desert, Petra still offers to the eyes of the traveller who succeeds in penetrating to it, the ruins of temples, triumphal arches, and an amphitheatre.

Rome has left her mark even on that sea of shifting sand where everything is so quickly effaced.



PTOLEMY
EVERGETES.¹

In the upper valley of the Nile wandered the Blemmyes and the Nubians. Three cohorts stationed at Syene sufficed to close against them the entrance to Egypt. On the high plateau of Abyssinia there reigned princes who afterwards called themselves descendants of Solomon and the queen of Sheba. Ptolemy Evergetes, whose victories the obelisk of Axum, still standing, attests, had taken from them several provinces which his feeble successors did not retain. The Axumites, to whom he had shown the way to India, had seized upon that rich commerce which was favored by their position near Bab-el-Mandeb, — a dreaded passage named by the Arabs “the Gate of Tears.” The Abyssinian kingdom was destined soon to increase, as in the remote time when it had threatened the empire of the Pharaohs; but its ambition turned towards Arabia, across the narrow barrier of the Red Sea, and it ruled over those Homerites whom Augustus, less fortunate, vainly attacked.

The Romans possessed in Africa little more than the coast-line. Moreover, except in Cyrenaica, the nomads, from Egypt to Lake Triton, were still the true masters of the country, some permanently settled in a few oases, or wan-



LIBYAN CHIEF.²

¹ Bust, with radiated crown, of the king, with the aegis, a trident on the shoulder. From a gold coin.

² Head in bronze, discovered at Cyrene in the ruins of the temple of Apollo, now in the British Museum. M. Trivier thinks it to be the fragment of a portrait-statue erected in the sanctuary where the head was discovered. Cf. *Gazette archéol.* 1878, p. 60, and pl. viii.

dering about with their flocks, others living by robberies. "These Libyans," says Diodorus, "sleep in the open air, and are scarcely above the level of brutes. Their chiefs possess no towns, but have certain rude store-houses, usually situated near a well, where they keep their provisions. The stranger is to them an enemy; they kill all whom they meet. They emerge unexpectedly from the desert, carry off whatever falls in their way, and are gone as suddenly as they came."

¹ ΑΦΙΛΛΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; bust of the king, surrounded by two ears of corn. Gold coin.



KING OF AXUM.¹

CHAPTER LXIV.

ITALY AND THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

I. — ITALY.

OUR excursion through the Roman provinces and the countries adjacent to them has brought us back to the African coast, directly opposite Spain, whence we set out. We have thus made a complete circuit of the Mediterranean Sea, — a sea unequalled in the world for the beauty of its shores. But we have still to speak of the peninsula which, in the midst of the Mediterranean, its very central point, the cynosure of all eyes, rose like a lofty citadel, whence Rome watched over and ruled her empire, — a position impregnable, if only strength and courage lasted.¹

Unhappily, Italy had dearly paid for her victories; and it was only to ancient times that the poet's grand salutation could apply, —

“Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
Magna virum!”

What, indeed, now remained of the old Italian race? and was Italy herself still that fruitful soil whither the gods came to be the first teachers of agriculture? Here and there, certainly, existed traces of the early fertility; in some places marvels were shown, — a vine which bore two thousand bunches of grapes; another, in Rome itself, which yielded twelve amphorae of wine. Varro extols the corn of Campania and Apulia, the wine of Falernum, the oil of Venafrum, and “that multitude of trees which,” he says, “make our country one vast orchard.” But in general the wealth

¹ Strabo says (vi. 286): “Italy, being in the midst of all the countries occupied by the greatest nations, seems made to give laws to them; and owing to their nearness, can easily compel them to obedience.” See the eulogium passed upon it by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 6): *Numine deum electa quae . . . sparsa congregaret imperia, ritusque molliret et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia et humanitatem homini daret.*

of the soil had disappeared with the old agricultural traditions,¹ and the corn yielded on an average only fourfold.² "We have abandoned the care of our ground to the lowest of our slaves," said Columella, "and they treat it like barbarians. We have schools of rhetoricians, geometers, and musicians. I have even seen where they teach the lowest trades, such as the art of cooking food or dressing the hair; but nowhere have I found for agriculture a teacher or a pupil. Meanwhile, even in Latium, that we may avoid famine, we must bring our corn from foreign countries and our wine from the Cyclades, Boetia, and Gaul."

These harvests of Sicily, Africa, and Egypt, given away or sold very cheaply in the maritime cities,—that is, at all places of large consumption,—offered a formidable competition to the meagre crops of Italy; the foreign corn at last displaced the native.³ Cattle-raising followed, which was more profitable, substituting pasture for ploughed land,—an industry of which "Jupiter bore the expense," for one requiring many hands; and on these *latifundia* there was neither employment for the agricultural laborer nor room for the petty proprietor.⁴ Thus men lacked land, and the land lacked men; the Italian soil was impoverished, and Italy was depopulated.

To the economic causes of this depopulation we must add the political and military causes,—all the blood shed from the time of Hannibal, the Gracchi, the Marsian war, and the more terrible wrath of Sylla; then, so many Italian legions reduced by labor and war, so many colonists sent out of the peninsula, and those

¹ Since the time of the war of the pirates, Italy could not supply itself with food. Cicero (*Pro leg. Manil.* 12, 15): *Eos portus quibus vitum et spiritum dueitis.*

² *Majore quidem parte Italiae . . . cum quarto responderint* (Columella, *De re rust.* iii. 3). Varro nevertheless speaks of fifteenfold in Etruria *et locis aliquot in Italia* (*De re rust.* i. 44). The average return in France is from ten to twelvefold; in England it is sometimes nearly double as great.

³ In imitation of Rome, distributions of corn were often made in the towns of Italy by rich private merchants.

⁴ *Villarum infinita spatia* (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 53). A freedman half ruined by the Civil war still possessed thirty-six hundred pairs of ploughing oxen, a hundred and fifty thousand head of small cattle, and forty-four hundred and sixteen slaves (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 47). [The very same passage from agriculture to pasture is now taking place in England and Ireland, owing to the competition of foreign, especially American, wheat. We, too, have our *latifundia*, the estates of great lords, and the constant tendency of country folk to move into the town. No legislation will ever stop this movement, founded on the seeking of social comforts and material luxuries. — Ed.]

continual migrations of adventurers going to seek their fortune at a distance. They were Romans; the world belonged to them: and now that indigence was a disgrace, could it be expected that they would modestly continue to till their fields as in the old time of poverty? It was better far to avail themselves in the provinces of their advantages as citizens or of the favor of a patron, — some magistrate or publican, — or else to obtain lucrative employment in those commercial societies so numerous in the Empire that every important town had its colony of Roman merchants.¹ If the Italians were numerous in Asia in the time of Mithridates, how many do we find there now? How many in Egypt, in Syria, in Carthage, which at this very time they were restoring to somewhat of its former commercial importance; in Spain, where half the country already spoke Latin; in Gaul, where they had completed the occupation of Narbonensis, and had begun that of Gallia Celtica and Aquitania? Soon we shall see them in the depths of Germany among the Marcomanni and the Cherusci, and in those remote solitudes where the wandering Arab will stand amazed at the presence of these men from an unknown world.

Thus the Roman people, scattered throughout the world, left deserted those regions whence the vigorous races of ancient Italy had disappeared; and Rome became encumbered with a starving crowd, *misera ac jejuna plebecula*, at which we must not look too closely, lest under the ragged togas² the traces of the whip and the irons should be seen. In this low-bred multitude Livy could find no soldiers.³ Columella speaks of young Romans of good family so ruined by dissipation that there was scarcely anything left for death to destroy.⁴

All exaggeration apart, however, Italy, in the midst of her marvellous grandeur, was declining; the fate befell her which in later ages happened to Spain, — she was exhausting herself in the establishment of a colossal domination, and paying for her glory by incurable wretchedness. The sun never set on the empire of the

¹ It was somewhat like the spread of the Spanish race in the sixteenth century, and of the Greek race in more ancient times; both of these races also exhausted themselves in peopling other countries.

² Vell. Patere., ii. 4; Val. Max., vi. 2, 3. Cicero says the same thing in other words: *Sin victi essent boni, quid superesset? Non ad servos videtis rem venturam fuisse?* (*Pro Sext.* 21.) On the immense number of freedmen, see Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 27, and App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 120.

³ Livy, vii. 25.

⁴ *De re rust.* in *præfat.*

son of Charles V. Peru sent him its treasures; his fleets covered the sea; his armies threatened all Europe. And with so much wealth and power, Spain was perishing; her fields were changed into deserts, her towns into straggling villages, her castles into ruins, whose masters, the proud *hidalgos*, filled the country with a race of beggars. The foundation which supported the building having given way, the whole soon crumbled. Fortunately for Italy, she had risen slowly, and slowly she fell.



FAMILY OF EMIGRANTS.¹

This state of things was clear to discerning eyes. Caesar had been alarmed at seeing the evil which had destroyed Greece spreading over Italy.² In order to arrest the migrations which were depopulating the peninsula, and to counteract the absenteeism which was impoverishing it, he had decreed that no citizen should be permitted to remain more than three successive years in the provinces, unless for some legal hindrance; and he compelled his colonist veterans to remain twenty years on their lands before obtaining a right to sell them. But the troubles of the second triumvirate again unsettled everything. The proscriptions, the war of Perugia,

¹ Bas-relief from the Museum of the Louvre (Clarac, *op. cit.* No. 57).

² Δεινὴ ὀλιγανθρωπία (Dion, xliii. 25).



BALAE (FROM THE DEVONSHIRE VERGIL).



and especially the new triunviral colonies, heaped other and greater miseries on Italy. It has been reckoned that from Caesar's dictatorship to the early years of the reign of Augustus, sixty-three cities were given over to veterans who came from every province and were recruited from every race!¹ After these evictions the roads of Italy were covered with emigrants whom hunger drove to Rome. And while they filled the Forum and the temples² with their lamentations, those whom they left behind on their lands squandered, in a few months of revelling, the property which had nourished ten generations of husbandmen. Usury undid what violence had done. But few of these rough and idle soldiers attached themselves to the soil, brought up a family, and founded a house. The greater part, continuing war in the midst of peace,³ plundered their neighbors, and when they found nothing more to take, sold their land to some rich monopolist, and hastened to Rome to play the sovereign people, to live at the gate of a patron, to sit in the circus, or stretch out the hand on the Subleian bridge and eat in a corner of the Forum the *sportula* which they had begged.

Thus increasing, how Rome overflowed her walls and spread out through her gates! Around the great city there was another, *suburbana*, which extended towards Ostia, or ran along the Appian and the Latin ways, reached out towards Tusculum or Tibur, and crossed the river to ascend the Janiculum and the Vatican. Magna Graecia was desolate, *deleta*, except two or three cities which their position protected; and the country of the Samnites was desert. Beneventum, in the great pass between the two declivities of the southern Apennines, alone maintained a little life;⁴ the Sabine country and Etruria were at the point of death. In the Middle

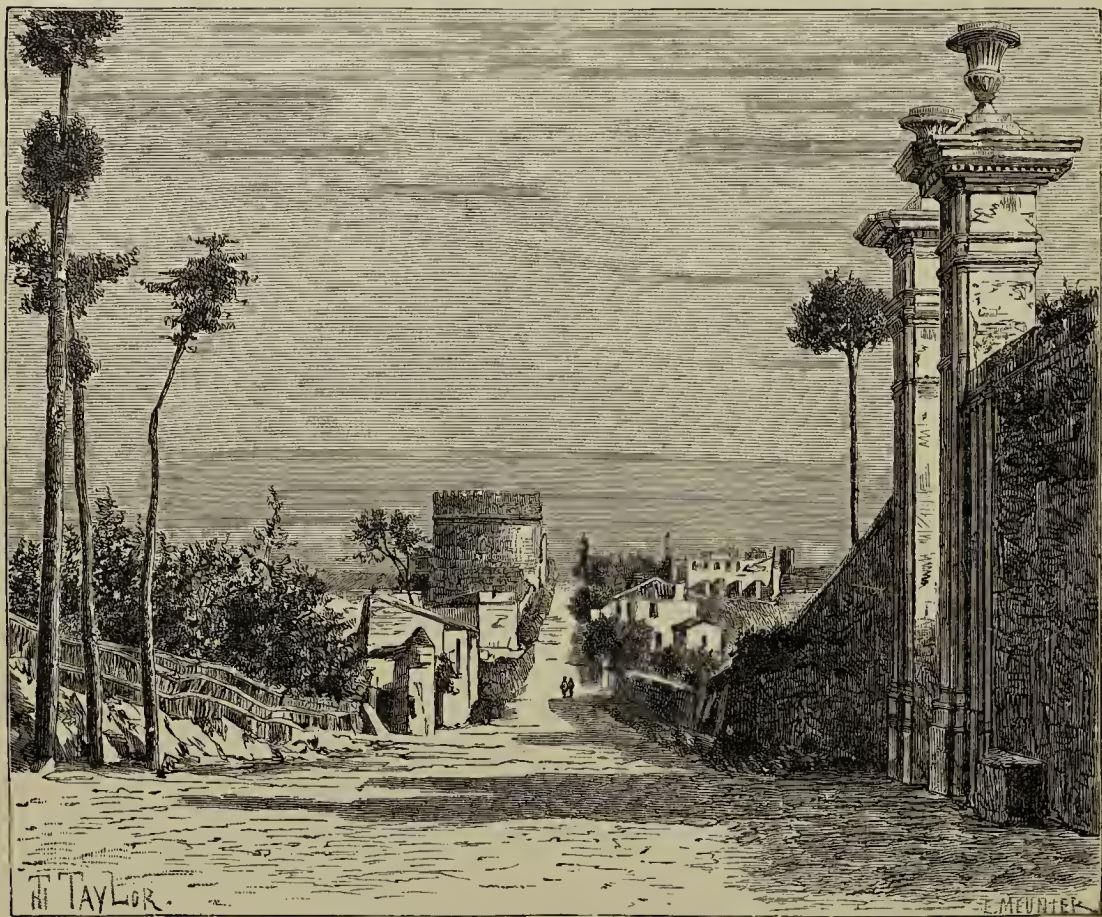
¹ From the moment when Marius, changing the manner of recruiting the legions, had taken proletarians for soldiers, he had made the system of military colonies indispensable; the state owed lands to these veterans, who owned none.

² See this picture in Appian (*Bell. civ.* v. 12 *sqq.*): ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην οἱ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες, ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς παιδίοις, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ, ἐθρήνον.

³ On the violence of the colonists, see Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 27): *Neque conjugis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti, orbis sine posteris domos relinquebant.*

⁴ Mommsen (*Inscr. reg. Neapol.*, p. 133) has found only five hundred and eighty-one Latin inscriptions for Bruttium, Iapygia, and Lucania, including the most insignificant ones, compared with nearly eight thousand which he has collected for all the inland provinces of the Neapolitan country, — a proof that after the ruin of the Greek cities the Romans abandoned this region to their shepherds and farmers. Municipal life was dead where it had been so active under the Hellenic race.

Ages, after the disaster of Meloria,¹ whoever wished to see Pisa went to Genoa; he who now looked for Italy had only to remain in Rome. What was the city's population? Some say four, six, even eight millions; others only about half a million: but this figure ought probably to be tripled. "Divine Nature," says Varro, sadly, "has made the country; man made the towns."



APPIAN WAY (PRESENT STATE).

Meanwhile the rich from time to time fled far from this crowd, to the hills of Latium and of southern Etruria. "There, where our fathers won triumphs," says Florus, "their descendants build villas." They were most frequently to be seen near the beautiful shores of the Bay of Naples, which was covered with magnificent structures. The gloomy forest which surrounded Avernus had fallen under the axe of Agrippa's legionaries, and numerous buildings,

[¹ Naval engagement off the rock of Meloria (Aug. 6, 1284), in which the long rivalry between these two cities was ended by the complete destruction of the maritime power of Pisa. — Ed.]

crowning those dreaded hills, were reflected in the limpid lake which had been called the Mouth of Hell. In this corner of Italy was centred an activity not elsewhere to be found except in Rome. Agrippa was there completing his great public works by the construction of a subterranean road from Avernus to Cumae, under the superintendence of Cacceius Nerva, and either excavated or enlarged the famous Grotta di Posilipo, which owed its name to the villa of Vedius Pollio.¹

At Puteoli a babel of many languages and an infinite variety of costumes and commodities indicated one of the great markets of the Empire. Near it lay the enchanted shores of Baiæ, which Horace calls the most beautiful place in the world: islands and promontories confining the sea into an immense tranquil lake, whose breezes tempered the heat of a fervid sun; all beauties of earth and heaven, all poetic terrors of legend and nature; the dark cave of the Sibyl with her dreaded oracles, the kingdom of shadows which Vergil was about to open with his golden branch, and the Phlegræan fields, emitting their infernal vapors with ominous sounds. With these were also verdant hills covered down to the water's edge with graceful buildings, hot springs which promised health, and a warm atmosphere which allured to pleasure.

Pleasure-loving Naples, the idle Parthenope, offered a less luxurious asylum to retired rhetoricians who came there to enjoy something of their old Greek life, — the gymnasia, the phratriæ with their gay festivals, musical competitions, and all the games of the stadium. Paestum,² near by, was invaded by malaria arising from the marshy waters which its inhabitants could not confine. Cicero spoke of it in his time as a place where one landed on returning from Africa;³ but Strabo considered it unhealthy, and the time soon came when its temples stood in the midst of a desert.⁴ Brundisium,

¹ Strabo, v. 4, 5. The mountain took its name from the villa, which in Greek had literally the same meaning as Frederick the Second's Sans-Souei. Baiæ was a dependency of Cumae. See Orelli, No. 2,263, and the curious inscription (*id.*, No. 132) in which a loquacious Greek celebrates in Latin distichs, sometimes at the expense of grammar, the charms of Baiæ and the delights of the sea. The grotto of Pausilipo, 2,394 feet long, formed a communication between Naples and Pozzuoli.

² See (Vol. II. p. 42) the general view of the ruins of Paestum. Facing p. 41 of this volume we give a view of one of the two temples.

³ *Ad Att.* xi. 17.

⁴ Strabo, v. 4, 13.

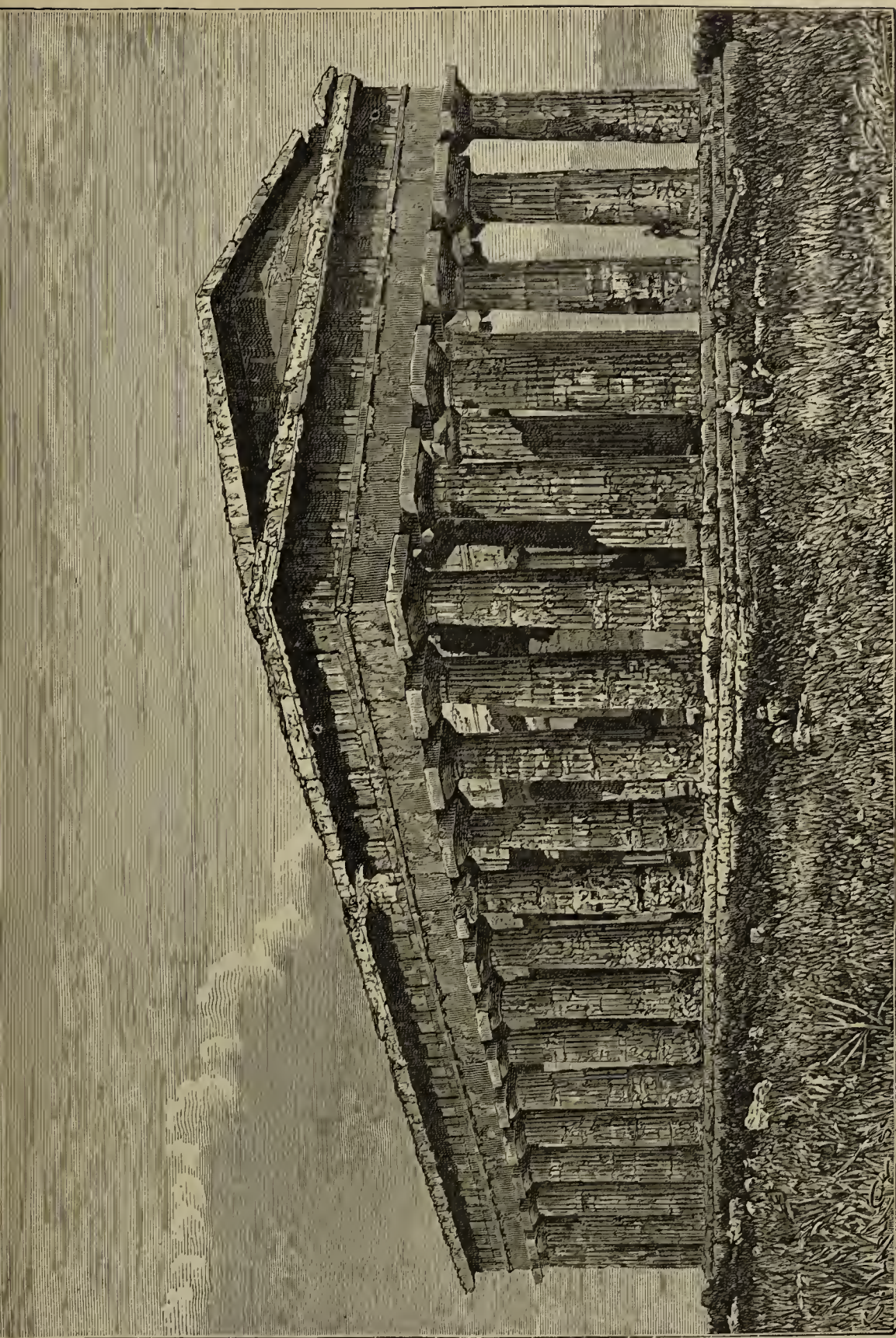
the place of embarkation for Greece, was increasing every day; Rhegium, colonized by Octavius after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius, retrieved its fortunes more slowly. But Tarentum, situated on fertile soil, and possessing the best harbor of Southern Italy, recovered a part of its former wealth, if it did not regain its power; at this time, however, it occupied but the half of its former circuit.

Thus, with the exception of Campania and one or two points in Magna Græcia, Italy was depopulated that Rome might be over-filled, where there now strutted a royalty in rags, mendicant and proud, desiring to sit down daily at the banquet of the Empire, provided by the master whom it had chosen for itself.

II. — THE ROMAN PEOPLE AND THE CAUSES OF THE IMPERIAL REVOLUTION.

FINALLY, we come to Rome. We already know the men who live there and the ideas which prevail there; for the second and third volumes of this History have shown the slow decomposition of Roman society, morals, and institutions, and the contradictory attempts made during a century to save the Republic or hasten its fall. Nothing in this picture must be forgotten if we seek to understand one of the greatest events of history, — the foundation of the Roman Empire.

Writers, like nations, are naturally inclined to attach too great importance to the action of historical personages. A scholar may change the whole aspect of a science, a general that of a war; but a statesman can never change the face of a society, because politics are a resultant, and because constitutional law, being the expression of a harmony between ideas, manners, and institutions, has only a relative value, unlike moral law, whose value is absolute. The greatest statesmen are those who respond best to the ideas, unconscious or premeditated, of their fellow-citizens. They receive more than they give; and their strength lies less in their own genius than in the logical sequence of ideas and facts of which they have made themselves the necessary servants. Whence it follows that success or failure, honor or disgrace, come to them as



THE GREAT TEMPLE AT PAESTUM.

much from the crowd which uphold as from the ambition which impels them.

The saying is hard, but just, that nations have the governments they deserve, as man has the condition he makes for himself. This doctrine destroys no man's responsibility, but rather extends it to those who find an advantage in throwing it off; and if the verdict is severe for the usurper who attacks ancient laws, it is no less so for the multitude who applaud the usurpation. Only, in judging both, it takes account of events which have rendered transformations necessary or useless, durable or transitory; it absolves those who have gone in the direction of the great current of national life; and it condemns all revolutionary attempts, either at the top or at the bottom of society, which have been contrary to the current or have sought violently to alter its course.

Let us apply these principles to the Romans. They had subdued everything, from the Euphrates to the English Channel, and from the Alps to the Atlas; but those who were the masters of all were themselves in subjection, — at first to the Senate, afterwards to a party, still later to a man.

Can we, after the battle of Actium, speak of triumphant democracy? Antony and Octavius were not party chiefs. They had fought, pillaged, and slain neither for the nobles nor for the people, but for themselves. The tyrannicides having been conquered, Antony made an orgie of power, and Octavius confused the idea of the public welfare with the gratification of his own personal ambition. We see the dying oligarchy, but not the coming democracy. Augustus spent his reign in establishing distinctions in Roman society, in placing each man in his own class, and in imposing on each class its costume. The Roman law, under the Empire, was to draw daily nearer to natural law; but it retained different penalties for the rich and for the poor. The Emperors called themselves the tribunes of the people, but they urged an aristocratic organization on the municipalities; and this Empire, whose especial duty had seemed to be the establishment of equality, prepared the immense social inequality of the Middle Ages.

Meanwhile the comitia were still important. The triumvirs had caused their authority to be confirmed by the popular assembly; but this was merely a form. The people appeared to give legality

to the will of those in power, as machines give the stamp to coins but do not make the metal of which the latter are formed.

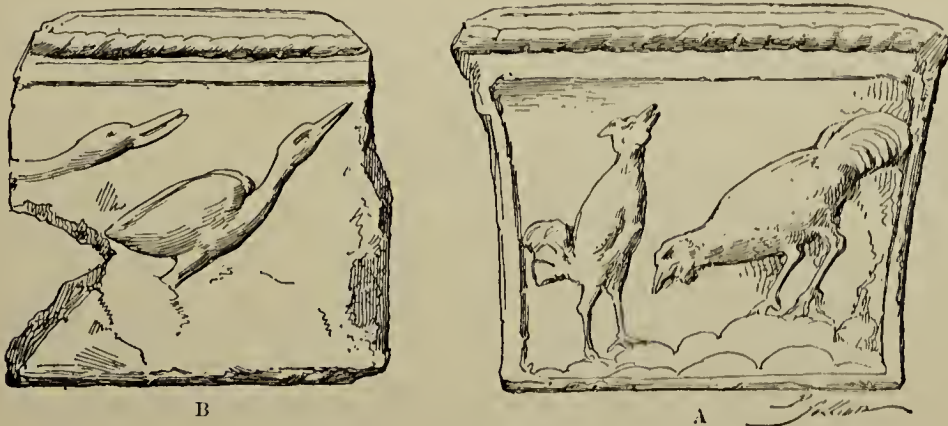
We know what had become of the old republican legions. The soldiers, recruited at hazard, belonged to the man who paid them best. Sylla, who had given up Asia to them, Caesar, who had gained with them so many lucrative victories, had been able to count on their devotion. Lucullus maintained severe discipline, and they abandoned him. Antony refused them Caesar's legacies, and they left him. Octavius offered his own property for sale in order to fulfil the promises made by the dictator, and the army promptly took his side. "They fought," says Montesquieu, "not for a certain thing, but for a certain person." Posterity, which is seldom deceived, has truly characterized this revolution in giving to the Caesars only their military title, *imperator*.

As for the provincials, they followed the course of events without attempting to change it. When the Roman armies divided their allegiance between Caesar and Pompey, between Octavius and Antony, not one cry of independence came from the conquered nations. They mingled in the strife because they were forced to do so, and, like the soldiery, they were devoted, not to a cause, but to a man,—to him who was on the spot with a large army, or whose profitable patronage had bound the interests of the province to those of his house.

In the time of Tacitus, the revolution which changed the Republic into the Empire seemed very simple. "The passion for power," he says, "increased with our empire, and, like our arms, overthrew everything. As long as the State was small, equality was maintained; when we had conquered the world, men contended for the power and riches it gave."

Do these words of Tacitus fully explain the matter? The great historian, or rather the great artist whose tragic soul is at home amid the gloomiest scenes, loved, like the crowd, to lay the blame upon men rather than circumstances, because the latter must be analyzed calmly, while the former, making up the living and passionate part of the drama of history, strike the eyes of the poet and of the crowd. What, however, are all the ambitious men who followed each other at Rome in comparison with Rome herself, incessantly transformed by her vices and by her victories?

In becoming a world, instead of a city, Rome could no longer preserve the institutions established for her early condition and her small territory. With rights of sovereignty personally exercised by each citizen in the Forum or the senate-house, with annual elections held in the Campus Martius, laws discussed in the comitia, justice dispensed in the praetorium, auguries taken in the Capitol, how could sixty million provincials be brought into the narrow and rigid circle of these municipal institutions? Even in Italy, could the citizens of the colonies and the municipia desire to be present at these comitia, which were interesting only to the inhabitants of Rome? A revolution, therefore, was inevitable; but the Romans, not having changed in time their civic constitution for a



FRAGMENTS OF AN AUGURAL MONUMENT.¹

national one, lost the former before they had obtained the latter, and without laws, without morals, found themselves exposed to every chance, like a vessel which has lost both anchor and compass.

Now, two things drove them inevitably into danger. By destroying, as they had done, all the military strength of the nations dwelling around the Mediterranean, they had imposed upon themselves the duty of keeping up an immense standing army, which must necessarily have unity and permanence in command; and since instead of the strong Roman people of early days there was now a Senate of ignoble *parvenus* and a vast proletariat of freedmen, this inevitable chief of the army might readily find in

¹ Front and side of an altar, found in the Loire in 1818, representing on the face (A), two sacred chickens, and on each of the sides (B) two cranes (Museum of Lyons). Comarmond, *Notice du Musée Lapidaire*, etc., No. 483.

Rome itself that shadow of legality which it needed to sanction usurpation. If Sylla and Pompey, or even Caesar and Augustus, had never existed, the end of the Republic must still have come. Caesarism was born because liberty had ceased to live; and liberty died because the world had need of something else.

Nations never strongly desire two things at once. At that moment, with the exception of a few men greater in heart than in intellect, the world was not asking for liberty; it desired peace, order, security, as eagerly as, three centuries later, it was to hasten, even through tortures, towards that unknown future which Vergil's great soul had foreseen when he announced the regeneration of the world.

III. — OCTAVIUS.

To these disorders Augustus¹ was about to put an end; the ardent desires of the provinces he was to fulfil; this longed-for peace he was to bestow on mankind; and he remains great in history, ordinary as was his genius, only because he answered to the universal expectation.

Borne along by the waves, he had followed the current, skilfully steering amid the breakers this storm-tossed vessel, with its torn sails and gaping seams, which Horace before the battle of Actium saw with alarm again venturing into the midst of tempests. A prudent and timid pilot, he now fears the great sea and the unknown shores: *fortiter occupa portum!* He stops in the harbor where the waves rock gently, and lulls the crew to slumber with the melodious songs of his poets. He keeps watch, however, and the repose which the world owes to him he never knows for himself. Spain, Gaul, Asia, all the provinces saw him in turn mark out new divisions, lay out roads, establish towns, organize the army, the finances, the government; finally attack and fight, but only in self-defence, being more willing to negotiate, lest men's spirit should awake at the sound of arms.

¹ [As regards Octavius' changes of name, he was named C. Jul. Caesar Octavianus by curiate law in 43 B. C., when legally adopted by the Julian gens; he was granted the title of Augustus in 27 B. C., as will be mentioned in its place. — ED.]

So much prudence, however, was not necessary, for in this ruin of the republican government nothing great enough or strong enough of the old edifice was left standing to prove a serious hindrance on the new path. Those who were called the republicans had fallen on the battlefields of Pharsalia, of Thapsus, of Munda, and of Philippi, or had perished with Sextus. The few who survived had in despair rallied round Antony; and those, too, had shared his fate, or, renouncing hopes which had been destroyed four times in twenty years, had humbled their pride before the clemency of the conqueror.

But revolutions nearly always call forth conspiracies; the broken sword easily becomes a dagger: and some of those whom victory has thrown at the feet of the master remain there only the better to mark the place where they can strike. The Egyptian expedition was scarcely finished when Marcus Lepidus, son of the triumvir, and nephew of Brutus by his mother Junia, conspired to assassinate Octavius on his return and re-establish the Republic. Maecenas, who commanded the city guards, easily saw through the ill-contrived schemes of the imprudent youth. He kept watch with consummate dissimulation upon the intrigues of Lepidus; he entangled the conspirator in unseen meshes; then suddenly, without



THE YOUNG OCTAVIUS.¹

¹ A statue found at Rome, and now in the Vatican (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, Hall of the Sarcophagi, No. 559).

noise or tumult, seized him and destroyed this germ of fresh troubles.¹ The culprit's wife, Servilia, killed herself by swallowing burning coals; his mother, accused of encouraging his designs, was dragged to the tribunal of the consul; and the elder Lepidus, to save his wife, was seen to throw himself at the feet of the judge. This judge was a senator whom Junia's brother had for-



LA LICENZA (THE DIGENTIA OF HORACE).

merly proscribed, and he might have remembered this proscription; but he had a heart noble enough to be touched by such great vicissitudes. Moreover, it was now the custom to pardon.

This attempt was, under Augustus, the only, and really the last, protest against the Empire. There were, indeed, many other plots, — that of Caepio and Murena² in the year 22 B. C.; of Egnatius

¹ The young Lepidus having been sent into Asia to Octavius, was there put to death (Livy, *Epit.* cxxxiii).

² It was this Murena, a brother-in-law of Maccenas, whom Horace endeavored to reclaim by his fine ode (II. x.), in which he extols the happiness of undistinguished life, the *aurea*

Rufus, Plautius Rufus, and L. Paulus, a little later; lastly, in the year 4 of our era, the conspiracy of the notorious Cinna, and at different periods obscure attempts at assassination. But it is difficult to say whether the motive of these men was mistaken ambition, or a noble and fierce inspiration. Judging by ancient reports, the part due to generous instincts was not the strongest.

Destroyed by twenty years of wars and executions, the republican party for the moment had ceased to exist; and of the Roman patriciate there remained but a few men, who all thought as Asinius Pollio said to Octavius before the battle of Actium: "I shall be the booty of the conqueror." "How few were then living," says Tacitus, "who had seen the ancient free state!" To find a last faint trace of it we must go back through two triumvirates and the fury of Clodius to the first fair days of Cicero; that is to say, more than one man's lifetime. The generation then living, born in civil war and troubles, preferred a tranquil present to that past of which they knew only the griefs.¹

When society is undergoing a transformation, it is the extreme and violent parties which occupy the scene; the moderate keep out of the way and remain silent. But the former are worn out in the struggle by the very energy with which they carry it on; and when the work of violence is completed, the latter again take the control into their hands. These moderate men now filled the Senate and the public offices. They had fortune, and did not seek for power, glad that another should bear its toil and danger. They were new men for the most part, created under all the past *régimes*, thrust into the Senate by all the party leaders in their turn, and they had no influence with the people, being unknown to them. They doubtless wore the dress of the old Conscript Fathers, but they possessed neither their splendid life nor their wide influence.² With many of them the laticlave scarcely concealed the Gallic *braccae* or the Iberian *sagum*. It would have been something, at least, if they had been drawn from among brave

mediocritas. Murena and his accomplices, "condemned by default to exile, were murdered a short time afterwards" (Dion, liv. 3). Dion also, speaking of the year 4 A. D., mentions a plot formed by a grandson of Pompey, Cornelius Cinna, whom the French poet Corneille has made famous (*Id.*, lv. 22).

¹ Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 2): *Tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent.*

² Suetonius calls them *deformis et incondita turba* (*Octav.* 35).

soldiers; but all kinds of men now occupied the seats where Cincas had seen kings sitting. It had become necessary, in order to save the dignity of the Senate, to forbid any one to summon senators before the courts for theft or robbery,¹ and the proscriptions of those already accused were stopped. As for seeing them compete with gladiators, that was no longer a novelty; one of them was shortly to fight in the arena at the dedication of the Julian Curia.²

The knights, who were engaged in banking, commerce, and tax-farming, who had been ruined by war and were enriched by peace, old allies of Caesar, moreover, were the natural upholders of the new order. Below these there were three Roman peoples, — one, seeking fortune on the seas and in far-off regions; another, beggars at Rome; a third slowly arising in the provinces, but not as yet important. The first of these asked only for peace and security; the second only for games and doles. The former, grown old in trading-posts or on shipboard, occupied with accounts, with buying and selling of commodities, with tricks to deceive the customs officers and the purchasers, rendered humble and servile by trade, unhonored by the early laws, lived far from Rome and accommodated themselves to everything which did not interfere with their traffic and their gains. The second class were very numerous, and would have been formidable had it not been so manifest that their interest in public affairs was limited to being amused and fed. During the Civil wars they had been neglected in favor of the soldiers, to whom they bore no love. Accordingly, they hailed the return of peace, which, by rendering the legions useless, freed them of rivals as skilful as themselves in profiting by the ruler's favor. As it was said in France that after the League men were hungry for the sight of a king, so the Romans invoked a master; for the reason that one of the principles by which human society is kept alive, — public security, — had disappeared.

Even at Rome robberies and murder were committed in broad daylight,³ and all the roads were, as in the darkest times of the

¹ *Ἐπὶ ληστείᾳ* (Dion, xlix. 43), in the year of Rome 721, during the aedileship of Agrippa.

² Dion, li. 22.

³ See Varro's dialogue, *De re rust.* i. 69. In order to end the conversation, the author supposes the assassination, in full daylight and in the open street, of the keeper of the temple of Tellus, where the friends had assembled. The calmness with which Varro relates this murder proves that it was one of the commonest incidents at Rome. "We went away," says

Italian banditti, infested by highwaymen. The modern *bravi* take only the traveller's purse when he yields it without resistance: their predecessors took the traveller himself when he was young enough to make a good slave; and as that "aristocracy of skin" which protected the white race in America was not at that time recognized, all men were exposed to terrible vicissitudes. One of the first cares of Augustus was to wage a formal war upon these brigands, and to have the slave-pens carefully examined, in order to deliver men of free condition who were detained in them.¹

A master was desired who should create order; especially one was desired who should expend for the benefit of all, the public fortune. During the last fifty years property in Italy had so often changed hands, torn from these men, given to those, finally returned again to the original owner, that, amid these repeated perturbations, it had almost disappeared. For civil war ruins a country in two ways,—by destroying the wealth already produced, and by hindering the production of more. With the exception of a few men, like Balbus of Gades, who was rich enough to bequeath the Roman people twenty-five denarii per man; or like the prudent Atticus, who had invested in property in Epirus the greater part of his ten million sesterces; or some few others who had inherited the old aristocratic fortunes, and had been overlooked in the proscriptions; or a few men who had prospered by the Civil wars,—all these people were poverty-stricken, ruined, and beggars. Augustus was obliged to lend or to give in every direction. He purposely lost at play, in order to bestow a needful gratuity on those who had not yet learned to beg. At one stroke he made up to full value the senatorial census of eighty senators who did not possess the eight hundred thousand sesterces required by law. To-day an aedile resigns office because he is too poor;² to-morrow there are knights whom Augustus sees concealing themselves among the crowd, not daring to take their own seats at the public games for fear impatient creditors should seize them. It was a strange sight to see a man paying

he, "more moved at the man's misfortune than astonished at the deed, *quam admirantes id Romae factum.*"

¹ Suet., *Tiber.* 8. Octavius boasts of having restored to their masters for punishment thirty thousand fugitive slaves (*Monum. d'Aneïra*, No. 25).

² Suet., *Octav.* 41; Dion, *lv.* 13; Dion, *xlvi.* 53; *li.* 2; *liv.* 10: ὑπὸ πείρας. Men are no longer willing to be senators, says he (*liv.* 26).

for the acceptance of the honors he bestows, paying for having a senate, an equestrian order, and magistrates. But the condition of poverty was universal; he alone was rich.¹



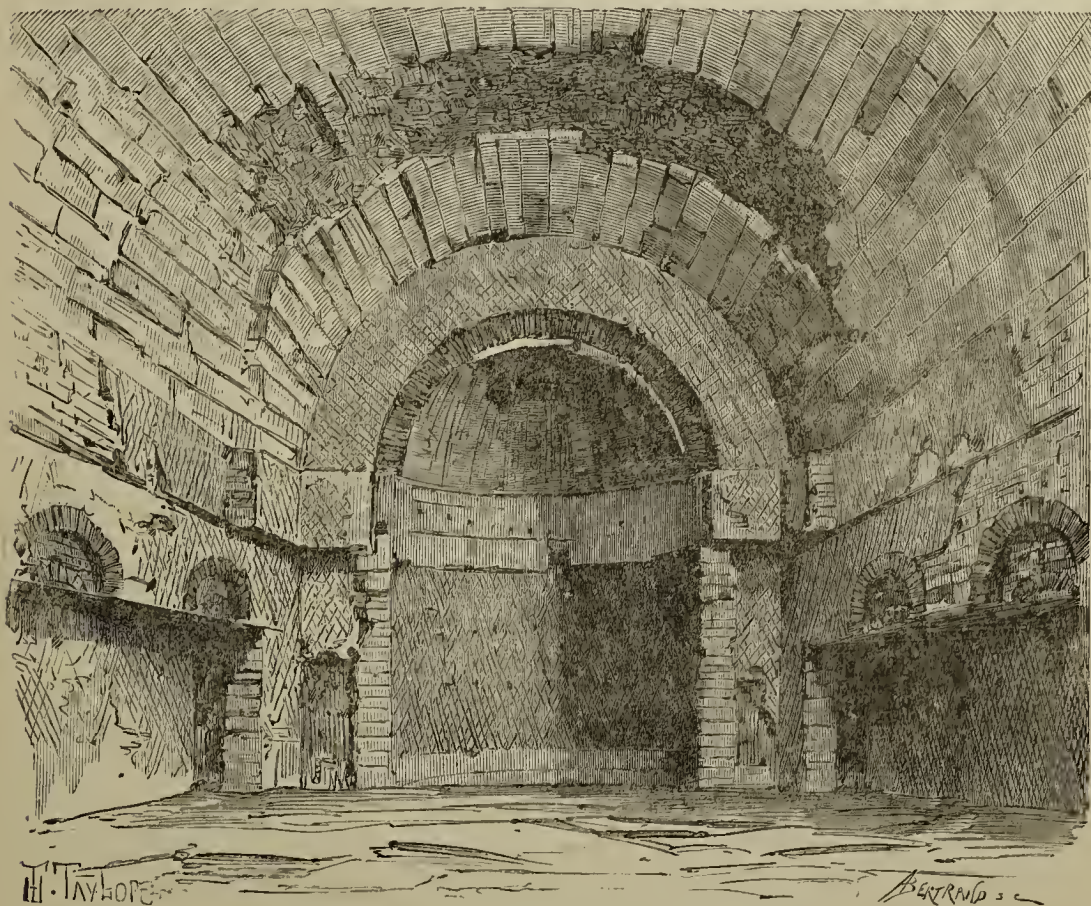
VICOVARO (THE VARIA OF HORACE).²

Men refused honors because the magistracies remained as burdensome as under the Republic, and no longer offered in compensation

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 40. See in Seneca (*De benef.* iii. 27) an anecdote about the senator Rufus, who was so cowardly and avaricious. Seeing what poverty a political crisis causes in our modern state of society, we can understand what twenty years of civil wars must have produced in ancient societies, which possessed so little capital, and where that small capital was so quickly consumed or destroyed. In olden days man had not yet appropriated to himself any natural agent but the soil. In rural economy he had made great progress in the domestication of animals and the acclimatization of plants; but he had scarcely any tools but his hands, and very few implements, so that the labor was immense and the produce little. This it was which excused slavery in the eyes of the most thoughtful men. So long as peace lasted, or so long, at least, as it was necessary only to supply the necessities of a foreign war, ordinary labor, though it required an enormous supply of men, was sufficient. But when war broke out on all sides, it began by disorganizing the slave system. The slaves deserted in crowds, work came to a stand, production was suspended; and as this society lived from hand to mouth, with no accumulated capital, the distress soon became frightful.

² Vicovaro is the ancient Varia, on the territory of which stood the farm given by Maecenas to Horace, and the River Licenza is the Digentia sung by the poet.

the profits which Verres had found in them. Furthermore, they refused them because the master himself set the example of moderation and disinterestedness. Like him, they affected a desire to withdraw from the burden of public affairs. "No one," writes Dion Cassius, "will enter the Senate;"¹ and as the sons of senators refused the places of vigintivirs which were reserved for them, it became



RUINS OF HORACE'S HOUSE AT TIVOLI (TIBUR).

necessary to throw that dignity open to members of the equestrian order. Maecenas, his brother-in-law L. Proculeius, V. Sallust, another friend of Octavius and grand-nephew of the historian, all remained simple knights.² Horace, who was a legionary tribune at twenty, never rose higher than a clerk of the treasury, and in his last epistle boasts of having no ambition.

¹ Οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ἐθέλοντι βουλευέσων ἡγείσκειτο . . . μηδεὶς ἔτι ῥαδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ἤτει (liv. 26).

² Tac., *Ann.* iii. 30. In the year 24 B. C. no quaestors could be found for the senatorial provinces, and the same was the case with the tribuneship a few years later. In the year 13 Augustus was obliged to retain or forcibly recall into the Senate members who no longer desired to hold a useless title.

Repose and pleasure, that luxurious and elegant life, agreeably occupied with trifles, which the poet of Tibur has sung so well ; no more public speaking, no more violent contests, no more of those words which were daggers ; peace, instead, and silence ; let one man watch and act for all, with the single condition that the provinces, formerly the property of a few families, should through him again become the true patrimony of the Roman people, — such was now the general desire. For some years past Octavius had perceived this ; and by the signs of universal lassitude he saw that violence

had had its day, and that the time for moderation was come. This perception was the secret of his strength ; for even the greatest of men become successful only on condition of the favorable moment and the ability of making circumstances serve their fortune. After having been the leader of the most violent party, Octavius had by degrees become the chief of the moderate section. Some see in the triumvir and the emperor two different men ; but this is not so. Octavius was not cruel by nature, but by position. Plunged

OCTAVIUS.¹

into the most difficult affairs before he was twenty, and regarded by all men as unworthy of serious attention, he made his boyish face stern, and his hand, scarcely strong enough for a sword, firmly signed

¹ Octavius crowned with oak (bust in the Louvre Museum, No. 278 of the Clarac Catalogue).

the list of proscriptions. Then indeed it became necessary to believe in his energy and power, and to cease to treat him as a child. Once in the path of bloodshed, men seldom halt. He, however, stopped at the moment when, had he continued, it might have been his ruin; and so he had the rare good fortune to fit two different epochs of a revolution. In truth he had ever before his eyes the image of Caesar stretched bleeding at the foot of Pompey's statue through having proclaimed too loudly his contempt for men, and refused to make allowance for their weaknesses. This memory had taught Octavius that one may indeed with impunity steal the public liberty, which is the patrimony of all, since there are times when the passions of some, the indifference of others, and the timidity of the majority make the precious heritage of little value in their eyes, but that it is prudent to respect what each individual holds dearest,—his vanity and that secret pride which makes the man survive the citizen.

Caesar had obtained the supreme power by violence. Octavius, who was not inclined to heroic proceedings, laid it down after he had won it, that he might modestly receive it back from the feeble hands to which he had feigned to restore it. To the last he played this part of disinterestedness, veiling himself behind ancient titles and old institutions whence all strength had passed away, but whose form was still left, making as few innovations as possible, guaranteeing the present, but preparing nothing for the future; so that the Empire, like its founder, was destined to live from day to day, with no thought for the morrow, amid perpetual convulsions, not necessarily disturbing the provinces, but turning the palace into a bloodstained arena.

MAECENAS.¹

¹ Visconti, *Iconogr. rom.* i. 178, from a cornelian in the Farnese Collection. A valuable amethyst in the *Cabinet de France*, signed by Dioscorides, represents the same person, who was at first thought to be the legislator of Attica, on account of the name COΛΩΝOC cut on the stone; but this is only the name of the engraver, Solon. Visconti has attributed the two

Octavius had already made use of, and was still further to find useful, two men whose names, with unusual justice, have remained connected with his, — Maecenas and Agrippa. During his stay at Apollonia he had entered into relations with them; and notwithstanding all that has been said of his suspicious and cruel character, through all his varying fortunes he still retained the two friends of his youth. The former of these, Maecenas, who was a few years his senior, came of an illustrious family of Etruria.¹ But as minister of a government which intended to pay no heed to birth, he ridiculed his own nobility, even while he allowed Horace to sing of his royal origin. His fortune placed him in the equestrian order, and he would never leave it. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, on the contrary, was born of an obscure house, in the same year as Octavius (63 B. C.), at the time when Cicero was ruling Rome by his eloquence. He was with the youthful Caesar when the news reached Epirus of the ides of March, and he was one of those who persuaded Octavius to claim his dangerous heritage. It seemed as though the gods, in order to end the slow death-pangs of the Republic, had united all the good qualities of the old Latin race in this founder of the monarchy. He was of a clear, but not brilliant mind, an indefatigable worker, rough in his manners,² speaking little, doing much, fitted alike for war or civil affairs, and successful in all his undertakings, bringing to them as he did the intelligence which prepares success, and the energy which secures it. If the devotion of such men is honorable to him who was capable of inspiring it, never was friendship more useful. In conducting a difficult negotiation, in sowing discord among adversaries or winning over malecontents, in appeasing hatred or confirming wavering friendships, — in short, in knowledge of men and of the means of guiding them, none equalled Maecenas; as a general and as a soldier none were superior to Agrippa. The treaties of Brundisium and Tarentum, the politic marriages of Octavius with Scribonia and of Antony with Octavia, and the baffling of the plot of Lepidus were the principal

stones to Maecenas, of whom Dioseorides was a contemporary, — an opinion which is based upon conjectures, and not upon any monuments.

¹ The Gilnii (Horace, *Carm.* i. 2; *Sat.* i. 6). As regards the foibles of Maecenas, with which I am not here concerned, see Seneca, *De prov.* 3; *De benef.* iv. 36; and *Epist.* 19, 92, 106, 114.

² *Vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 9).

achievements of Maccenas; the subjugation of the Gauls, the defeat of Sextus, and the victory of Actium were those of Agrippa. To these two men was due at least half of the prosperity of Augustus at the outset of his reign.



M. VIPSIANUS AGRIPPA.¹

Later, their services were still to be great, but of a different nature. Maccenas, who by his dexterity had done so much to aid his master in steering clear of reefs during the tempest, sits down to rest when they come into port. He retires into private life and

¹ Bust in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

avoids honors; he leaves Agrippa to share with Augustus the consulship and censorship, to carry on the administration, build temples and aqueducts, found cities and military roads, pass ceaselessly to and fro through the Empire, and carry everywhere and into everything his activity and clear intelligence. For himself, he remains at Rome. He makes verses, listens to Horace and Varius, and gives well-appointed suppers, at which perfumes flow freely; and Augustus, who is fond of joking, calls him the man of fashion, with his dripping hair (*μυροβρεχέϊς*.) He still plays a serious part, however. At his table conversions take place, fierce courage is toned down, and severe virtue melts beneath the soft breath of pleasure. There men learn all the joys of peace, indolence, and dalliance; there, above all, they forget, and call those who do not, senseless. Maecenas keeps open house for wit and effeminacy; and at his board it is that, as the outcome of a gay feast, between the Epicurean ode of Horace and an elegy of Propertius, Liberty abdicates her throne, consoling herself with some epigram of Domitius Marsus, which the host himself applauds.

After the two great ministers, we see near Octavius the cold and severe face of Antistius Labeo, an unbending republican, and yet in the science of law an innovator; Ateius Capito, less haughty, and, like him, the leader of a school; Valerius Messala Corvinus, whom Octavius took as a colleague in the consulship; Statilius Taurus, a *novus homo* like Agrippa, but also a man of merit, who later gave the city its first stone amphitheatre, as if to show the Romans that their new master wished no cessation of their pleasures; Sallust, the adopted son of the historian; Cocceius, Delliis, and "the other friends of the first entry,"²—all recruited from the hostile camp and won over by clemency.



COIN OF STATILIUS TAURUS.¹

Messala Corvinus, being proscribed by the triumvirs as an accomplice in Caesar's murder, had on the day of the first battle of Philippi taken the camp of Octavius, and inflicted on the young triumvir that defeat which brought so many sarcasms upon him.

¹ TAVRVS REGVLVS PVLCHER. *Simpulum* and *lituus*. Reverse of a bronze coin of the family Statilia.

² *Cohortem primae admissionis* (Seneca, *De clementia*, i. 10).



RUINS OF THE HOUSE OF MAECENAS AT TIVOLI (BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE).

Octavius never forgot the man who had so thoroughly beaten him. When Messala, who had been saved after Philippi by Antony, abandoned that unwise leader, Octavius heaped honors upon him, intrusted him with the most important affairs, and allowed him freely to extol, even in his own presence, the virtues of "his beloved Brutus." He was one of those many-sided men produced by disturbed epochs; a great orator, in Quintilian's judgment; praised by Seneca as one of the purest of writers; an excellent general, a good administrator, and even a better citizen, for he defended the Republic without violence, and monarchy without servility. Another senator, L. Sestius, piously preserved the likeness and the memory of Brutus; but this did not prevent his obtaining the consulship. Octavius, who was anxious to appear to continue the Republic and do honor to all its famous men, was very careful not to forbid this harmless respect for the last republican. Livy, the eloquent chronicler of the great deeds of the Roman aristocracy and of the fair days of liberty, escaped no worse penalty than a surname. Even the son of a freedman could with impunity remind the ex-triumvir that he had fought against him. The poet hastened, it is true, to add that he had been one of the first to run away —

". . . Relicta non bene parmula ;"

but Octavius did not impose this dishonoring confession upon Horace. At Milan he respected a statue of Brutus; he spoke of Cicero as a good citizen, and tried to efface his remorse for his share in the great orator's death by appointing the victim's son consul and augur, — though the latter's chief merit was that he contested with Torquatus "Tricongius" the reputation of being the hardest drinker in Rome.

Poetry, lately hostile in the person of Catullus, was disarmed like politics. Though Tibullus, whom the war had quickly frightened, still sulked against Octavius, he sang only of love, following the example of Propertius; and Livy, Vergil, Horace, the illustrious representatives of history and of epic and lyric poetry, furthered the designs of the founder of the Empire by celebrating the greatness of Rome or the destiny promised to the descendants of Iulus.

Near the victor of Actium we find another old friend and able

servant of Caesar, — Asinius Pollio, the protector of Vergil and, notwithstanding the eloquent counsels of Horace, the historian of the Civil wars. He had formerly sworn an oath to Cicero to fight to the death for liberty.¹ Convinced that liberty was no longer possible, he had accepted a master, but neither eagerly nor with baseness, and had taken refuge against despotism in



YOUNG TIBERIUS AND HIS BROTHER DRUSUS, THE TWO SONS OF LIVIA.²

devotion to literature and in independence of spirit. Octavius rather esteemed than loved this serious man.

Munatius Plancus had passed through those difficult times with less honor. First a lieutenant of Caesar, then the friend of his assassins, he had gone over to the triumvirs, to whom he had abandoned his brother. At Alexandria he was the buffoon of

¹ Cicero, *Ad Fam.* x. 31.

² Busts in bronze; that of Tiberius, found at Mahon in 1759, had eyes of silver (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3,121). The bust of Drusus is in the Louvre Museum.

Antony, whom at Lyons he had called an infamous robber, and later denounced at Rome. In him all kinds of treachery were united; but a man who was so conscientiously devoted to the stronger side, and who openly taught adulation,¹ was too useful not

LIVIA.²

to be employed. Octavius, who neglected Pollio, loaded Plancus with honors, in order that all men might see what was now the road to fortune. The singer of Tibur calls him a sage; but this wisdom of Horace is the same which quailed at the mere name of the indomitable Cato (*atrocem animum Catonis*).

¹ See in Seneca, *Quaest. nat.* book iv. *in praefat.*, his theory of flattery; he analyzes and gives the rules for it. This was the new order of the day.

² Statue in the Vatican, *Pio Clementino Museum*. ii. 4.

I call special attention to these two men because they represent the two divisions of the Senate and nobility, — the first resigned, yet

still proud, and few in numbers; the second, which daily grew larger, going over to Octavius in order to attain through him the dignities, wealth, and honors promised to servility.¹

Beside these men we must make room for a woman, — the first who in the Roman world made her influence felt in affairs of state; I refer to Livia. The sway she had gained over her husband was a wise and lawful one. More than once Augustus was to have proof of the correctness of her judgment and the excellence of her advice. Imperious with her sons and her daughters-in-law, toward her husband she was gentle and complaisant; and the Emperor could point out as an example to the matrons the ever-dignified bearing and



JULIA, DAUGHTER OF AUGUSTUS.²

severe chastity of her who in her palace kept up the tradition of Tanaquil the spinster.³ She was very beautiful: "In features she

¹ *Quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 2).

² Statue from the Villa Panfilii (Clarae, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 978c, No. 2,343). There is also a statue of Julia in the Louvre, but the head is modern.

³ Suet., *Octav.* 71, 84; Dion., lvi. 2; Seneca, *De clem.* i. 9. Caligula called Livia a female Ulysses, — *Ulyssem stolatum* (Suet., *Caius*, 23); but in Seneca's opinion (*Consol. ad Marc.* 4) she was *feminam opinionis suae custodem diligentissimam*. Macrobius speaks of her (*Saturn.* 2 v.) as always surrounded by grave persons; and Tacitus says (*Ann.* v. 1): *Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum, mater impotens, uxor facilis*. Augustus wore no garments but those woven by his wife and daughter (Suet., *Octav.* 74). Ovid says:—

Quae Veneris formam, mores Junonis habendo. . .

We might doubt the sincerity of the poet; but Octavius took her away from Nero, says Tacitus, *cupidine formae* (*Ann.* v. 1).

is Venus, in manners Juno," says Ovid; her busts do not contradict the poet's eulogies, which Tacitus repeats. By Claudius Nero, her first husband, she had two sons, — Tiberius and Drusus; but she



ANTONIA, WIFE OF DRUSUS.¹

THE ELDER AGRIPPINA.²

bore none to the Emperor. While Julia, the daughter of Augustus and Scribonia, scandalized Rome and the court by her licentiousness, the charming Antonia, the loving and always beloved wife of Drusus, her mother, Octavia, whose chaste reputation was never

¹ Statue in the Vatican, found at Tusculum. The wavy style in which the hair is done is considered as a proof that the statue is iconie; that is, the portrait of the person represented (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 928, No. 2,359).

² Statue from the Egremont collection, representing the elder Agrippina wearing the Latin diadem, in the posture and with the attributes of Ceres (Clarac, *op. cit.* pl. 330, No. 2,366).

sullied by the slightest suspicion, and the grand-daughter of Augustus, that noble Agrippina whom the whole Empire was destined to honor for her virtues, restored in the imperial house the old Sabine manners.

We have now carefully examined each system of wheels composing the vast machine, as Montaigne entitles the Roman Empire. Let us sum up this long review in a few general propositions, which we will put into the form of so many questions, to which the Empire must reply, —so many problems which it must solve; since they are the legacy left to it by the Republic.

From the Euphrates to the English Channel, and from the Alps to the Atlas, we have found a supreme authority, —that of the Roman people, —and beneath this external unity an infinite variety of local laws, manners, religions, and conditions of freedom. The Roman Empire is established, but there is as yet no Roman nation. Will the Emperors succeed in making one?

In all these countries the Republic had, save at a few points, overthrown the native governments. The Empire will therefore be obliged to undertake the administration in their stead. Will it keep order? and will “the Roman Peace,” which the peoples so eagerly long for, be guaranteed by wise institutions?

Around this immense dominion we have seen barbarous races, some brave and turbulent, but divided; others, corrupt; but all feeble. There is consequently no indication at this time of any serious danger. Yet, since the Romans have destroyed the military force of their subjects, they are bound to defend those whom they have disarmed and who pay them tribute; for this needful protection they are obliged to have recourse to a formidable novelty, —the establishment of a standing army. Will this army be imbued with the spirit of discipline and sacrifice, with love of country and respect for the civil laws?

The right of commanding involves still other duties. Rome occupies all the civilized portion of the ancient world, and has at her disposition the forces furnished by intellect, social organization, and wealth. Will the new Rome employ these forces in increasing the activity of the fire whereat is kindled the torch which illumines the world, in rendering its heat more diffused, its light more brilliant, —in one word, preserving, increasing, and purifying the

ancient civilization whose treasures are now committed into her hands?

In conclusion, the history of the last century of the Republic proved the necessity of the Empire; this is the excuse of Octavius. Will he be capable of organizing it? Here we await Augustus, to determine whether he has deserved his fortune.

¹ Busts, facing each other, of Augustus with the laurel, and Agrippa wearing the mural crown. From a cameo in the *Cabinet de France* (sardonyx of three layers, 1.18 inch by 0.732 inch), No. 198 in the catalogue.



AUGUSTUS AND AGRIPPA.¹

EIGHTH PERIOD.

AUGUSTUS, OR THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER LXV.

ORGANIZATION OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT (30-13 B. C.).¹

I.—DECREES OF THE SENATE AFTER THE DEATH OF ANTONY (30-28).

ANTONY being dead, and Egypt reduced to a province, Octavius returned to Syria, where he received from the king of the Parthians a first embassy, much less haughty in tone; for

¹ *Chronology of the reign of Augustus after Actium.*—30 B. C.: Death of Antony; Egypt reduced to a province; Octavius passes the winter at Samos. 29: Return of Octavius to Rome; he closes the temple of Janus. 28: Census taken by the consuls (4,164,000 citizens). 27: Octavius receives the title of Augustus, divides the provinces with the Senate, and remains three years (27-25) in Gaul and Spain. 24: He returns to Rome. 23: He is invested with the tribunitian power for life, and receives an embassy of Parthians. 22: Conspiracy of Murena; Candace invades Egypt; revolt of the Cantabri. 21: Augustus repairs to the East, passes the winter at Samos, and marries his daughter Julia to Agrippa. 20: The Parthians restore the standards taken from Crassus; Augustus at Samos. 19: Return to Rome [his *potestas consularis*]; death of Vergil. 18: *Lex de maritandis ordinibus*. 17: The secular games; Agrippa sent to Asia. 16: Defeat of Lollius; Augustus repairs to Gaul, where he again remains three years (16-14). 15: Tiberius and Drusus subjugate the Raeti and Vindelici. 13: Augustus returns to Rome. 12: Death of Agrippa and Lepidus; Drusus in Gaul; the altar of Rome and Augustus at Lyons. 11: War of Drusus against the Germans, of Tiberius against the Dalmatians and Pannonians; Tiberius marries Julia. 10: Augustus in Gaul. 9: Death of Drusus. 8: Augustus in Gaul for the fourth time; Tiberius in Germany; death of Maecenas and Horace. 7: Tiberius in Germany. 6: Tiberius receives the tribunitian power for five years, and retires to Rhodes, where he remains seven years. 2: Banishment of Julia. 2 A. D.: Return of Tiberius to Rome. 4: Tiberius, adopted by Augustus, repairs to Germany, where he remains three years (4-6). 6: Revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians. 7: Germanicus in Germany; three campaigns of Tiberius in Illyricum (7-9). 9: Defeat of Varus; exile of Ovid. 10 and 11: Tiberius in Germany. 11: Tiberius returns to Rome and triumphs. 14: Conclusion of the census (4,197,000 citizens); Augustus dies on the 19th of August, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the thirty-seventh of his tribunitian power.

Phraates, in order to prevent the Roman imperator from giving his support to a candidate for the throne who had taken refuge in the territories of the Empire, sent him his own son as a hostage. Octavius employed the winter and the spring of the year 29 in regulating the affairs of the Asiatic peninsula. Ephesus and Nicaea, the two capitals of Asia and Bithynia, were authorized to build each a temple to the two new deities, — Rome and the divine Julius; Pergamum and Nicomedia, to establish “consecrated enclosures in honor of Octavius and Rome.” This was the second year which he passed away from Italy. But he was in no hurry to return thither; he wished to strengthen his power by exercising it at a distance, and allow the Romans time to accustom themselves to the idea of a master. Indeed he was over-cautious; the secret wrath of the aristocracy did not require to be so carefully guarded against.



OCTAVIUS.

Moreover, Maecenas and Agrippa kept guard for him at Rome. The letters of Octavius to the Senate and consuls passed through their hands; he had even left them a seal like his own, that they might modify, according to circumstances, the contents of his despatches.¹ They gave the watchword for devotion, they prompted enthusiasm, they directed deliberations and voting. Thanks to the universal desire for peace, this was an easy task.

Since the blundering attempt of Lepidus, — that salutary warning which Octavius had so well understood, — the calm had not been disturbed; and the only echo which stirred the city was that of the adulatory decrees of the Senate. After Actium they had voted a triumph; after the subjection of Egypt they decreed another, and commenced in his name the building of the great temple of Fortune at Praeneste. Then the priests were ordered

DENARIUS.²

¹ This seal bore the image of the sphinx, — the emblem of his conduct; later on he made use of a ring on which was engraved the head of Alexander and a signet bearing a good likeness of himself (Suet., *Octav.* 50; Dion, li. 3; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii, 4). For correspondence with his counsellors he had a cipher, which consisted of putting instead of the required letter the one immediately following it in the alphabet (Dion, *ibid.*).

² Head of Octavius, consul for the sixth time. On the reverse, a crocodile, the symbol of Egypt, and the legend, “Egypt captive.” Denarius.

to offer up prayers for Octavius as they did for the Roman people, and in their petitions to join his name with the names of the gods; the citizens were enjoined to pour out libations in his honor at their banquets; the vestals, senators, and people were to go forth to meet him on the day when he should re-enter Rome. That day was to become a yearly festival. Two triumphal arches, one at Brundisium, the other in the Forum, were to be erected to perpetuate the memory of his victories; on solemn occasions he was to wear the purple mantle; and finally, the entrance to his house was to be adorned with branches of laurel and a civic crown. Coins exist whereon this crown surrounds the inscription which courtiers of Fortune are so ready to lavish upon those whom they call saviors of their country, — *ob cives servatos*.

To these showy honors it was well understood that power must be added. At the beginning of January in the year 29, while Octavius in Asia was entering upon his fifth consulship, the senators and magistrates at Rome swore to obey his decrees, and the tribunitian power was offered him for life, with the right of extending its inviolability over any who should implore it. But all this had for the most part been given to others, and it was desired to do something new. A classical idea cleared away the difficulty. Before the Areopagus, Orestes had been saved by the vote of Athene: it was decided that in criminal causes Octavius might vote in favor of the accused. This was the right of pardon, which has ever been one of the attributes of sovereignty.¹

A deputation from the Senate went to bear him these decrees. They found him occupied with the apotheosis of Caesar and permitting temples to be built to himself in Pergamum and Nicomedia. With the Greeks, who had long been accustomed to these sacrilegious flatteries, he readily allowed an apotheosis to be decreed him during his lifetime;² with the Romans he thought it wise to

¹ Dion, li. 19. In the year 13 it was decreed, on his return from Gaul, that to all those who should go out to meet him *εἰς τὸν τοῦ πατριάρχου ἄντρα ἀδελφὸν εἶναι* (*id.* liv. 25). On the day that he re-entered Rome, no criminals were executed. Finally, his temples and statues became inviolable asylums, and in the colleges of priests he could increase at will the number of members (Seneca, *De clem.* i. 18; Tac., *Ann.* iii. 36; Dion, li. 20).

² On this question see chap. lxvii., section iii.: Religious Reform.

assume a disinterested exterior. He did not accept all that was offered him; he even refused the most valuable of these prerogatives,—the tribunitian power for life,—that he might leave some doubt in respect to his intentions and one more illusion to those who still cherished them.

Meanwhile his lieutenants made his arms triumphant everywhere: Statilius Taurus in Spain; Nonius Gallus and Carinas in Belgica; Messala in Aquitania;¹ Crassus against the Bastarnæ



RUINS OF NICOMEDIA.²

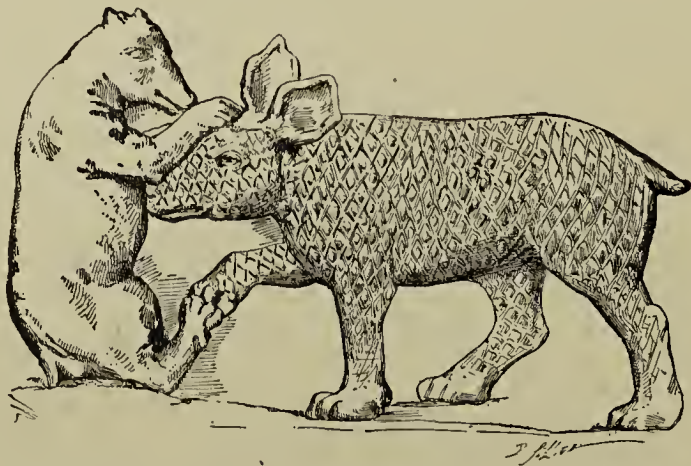
and Daci. Octavius might have ascended to the Capitol escorted by triumphant generals, and inaugurated his government by announcing to the Romans the end of all war. It was the propitious moment for returning to Rome; he passed through the gates in the month of *Sextilis*, which afterwards took his name (August 29, B. C.), and triumphed thrice,—for the Dalmatians, for Actium,³ and for Egypt, whose great river, according to custom.

¹ Messala had taken with him his *protégé* Tibullus, who was no more of an ardent soldier than Horace. Cf. Tibullus, *Eleg.* i. 7.

² Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, vol. i. pl. 1.

³ The name of Antony was not even uttered; it was for his victory over the Egyptian fleet at Actium that Octavius triumphed. But decrees of the Senate had already overthrown

figured in the ceremony, which event has given us the beautiful statue of the Nile preserved in the Vatican. On descending from the Capitol he vowed a temple to Minerva, the goddess who had given him his precocious wisdom; and in the Julian Basilica, dedicated by himself, he placed that statue of Victory which after the triumph of Christianity remained to the last pagans at Rome the venerated symbol of the illustrious history of their fathers. The recompenses to the soldiers and the gratuities to the citizens were what the treasures of the Ptolemies permitted them to be, — a thousand sesterces each to the former (and they were one



COMBAT BETWEEN A RHINOCEROS AND A BEAR.¹

hundred and twenty thousand in number), and four hundred to the latter. Even boys, who usually were counted only over eleven years of age, received their share, in honor of the young Marcellus.²

So much gold was suddenly brought into circulation that throughout Italy the interest on money fell two thirds, — from 12 to 4 per cent, — and the price of property was doubled.³

Notwithstanding this expenditure, Octavius was still rich enough to make sumptuous offerings in the temples of Rome,

the statues of the trimvir, declared the day of his birth unlucky, and forbidden any member of the *gens Antonia* to bear his surname of Marcus.

¹ Rich, *Dict. des Ant. rom. et grecq.*, under the head *Venatic*.

² Suet., *Octav.* 41. Octavius had found a great quantity of gold in the palace of Cleopatra, for the queen on her return from Actium had despoiled the temples and the rich citizens of Alexandria, which freed Octavius from the necessity of doing so. He confiscated property, however, of those who could be accused of having sided with Antony, and all the other inhabitants had to yield him the sixth part of their fortune (Dion, li. 17).

³ Dion, li. 21.

although he had refused the golden crowns offered, according to custom, by the cities of Italy, had paid all his debts without demanding anything from his numerous debtors, and had burned the acknowledgments of state debts.¹ These royal procedures and the splendid *fêtes* which followed, — the Trojan games, at which Marcellus and Tiberius appeared; the combats between Servian and Dacian prisoners; the hunts in the circus, in which were seen for the first time a rhinoceros and a hippopotamus, savage denizens of a world opened by the subjugation of Egypt, — so many largesses and diversions sowed oblivion and hope. In order to announce solemnly the beginning of the new era, Octavius closed the temple of Janus, which had stood open for two centuries, and caused the augury of safety to be taken.³

A HIPPOPOTAMUS.²

Fifteen years earlier, a youth from the schools of Apollonia, of slender figure and delicate constitution, had set out alone from that city, and arrived, almost unknown, in Rome, where, notwithstanding the advice of his kindred and the entreaties of his mother, this ambitious boy of eighteen had boldly claimed the heritage of his adopted father, who had fallen under twenty dagger-thrusts. At first he had been ridiculed. But he had outwitted the ablest men, he had crushed the strongest; and on the ruins of all parties and of all ambitions he had raised an unassailable fortune. Having reached the limit, what was he to do now? It is said that he consulted Agrippa and Maecenas; that the former advised him to abdicate, the latter to retain the Empire.⁴ Such counsels are given only from the benches of rhetoricians.

For statesmen, the government of the nobles, which is called the Roman republic, was condemned without need of Maecenas pleading

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 30, and Dion, liii. 2.

² From a coin of Julia Mamaea, published by Pellerin, *Mélanges*, vol. i. p. xv.

³ *Monum. Ancyr.*; Suet., *Octav.* 31; and Dion, li. 20: τὸ οἰωνισμὰ τὸ τῆς Ὑγιείας (or σωτηρίας). Dion has previously explained (xxxvii. 24) what this ceremony was, which could only be performed when no army was engaged in a campaign. The augurs took the auspices in order to know whether the prayers addressed to the Goddess Salus would be accepted that day.

⁴ Dion, lii. 1-30.

against it; and although men have been pleased to represent Agrippa as the inheritor of the sentiments of Brutus and Cato, the instrument of so many monarchical victories, the conqueror of Sextus and of Antony must always appear an odd sort of republican. I do not, therefore, believe in the puerile hesitations ascribed to Octavius, but rather in his firm will to remain master, while sheltering his usurpation under forms of law; since, with the example of his life, Caesar had also left him the lesson of his death.

Careful not to fall back by innovations, whose results he could not foresee, into the midst of the perils from which he had just emerged, Octavius set himself to build up, bit by bit, a constitution

which has remained nameless in political language, and for three centuries rested upon a lie. Fraud never endures so long; in this case only the form was false. All men understood the reality, but all desired to keep up the illusion, the beloved and glorious image of the old liberty.

He therefore assumed neither the ever-hateful royalty nor the dictatorship of bloody memories; but he understood the history of his country well enough to know that he could easily obtain, in the ill-defined prerogatives of the ancient magistracies, the means of



THE GODDESS SALUS.¹

disguising the monarchy beneath republican tinsel, and that he could sufficiently arm absolute power with the laws of liberty. He had been consul since the year 31; under that title he had fought

¹ Hirt., *Mythol. Bilderb.* p. 109.

the battle of Actium. For six years longer he was to retain this post, which made him the official head of the state, and legally gave him the greatest part of the executive power.

But above all things he needed the army, — a better guaranty, at such an epoch, than all decrees and all magistracies. He was therefore unwilling at any price to disband his legions; and in order to remain at their head, he obtained from the Senate a decree conferring on him the name of “imperator,” — not that simple title of honor which the soldiers gave to victorious consuls on the battlefield, but that new office under an old name which Caesar had possessed, — an office conferring the supreme command of all the military forces of the Empire. The generals thus became his lieutenants, the soldiers swore fidelity to him, and he exercised the power of life and death over all those who bore the sword.¹

The Senate represented the ancient constitution; nevertheless he retained it; and, with an irony which would be cutting, did not history clearly prove this law of human societies, — that the past always continues long into the present, — he made the republican assembly the principal part of the machinery of the imperial government. For this, two things were necessary, — that body, which had fallen into great discredit, must be raised again in the eyes of the people, and at the same time it must remain pliant and docile. He attained this double end by causing to be conferred upon himself, with Agrippa as colleague, and under the title of *praefectus morum*, all the powers of the censorship, which allowed him to make a revision of the Senate.² There were then a thousand senators. At his invitation fifty resigned; he allowed them to retain the senatorial insignia. A hundred and forty members, who were either unworthy, or were friends of Antony, were struck off the list.

Some bold enterprise on the part of these persons was feared. They were only allowed to enter the senate-house one by one,

¹ The title of *imperator*, in the sense of victorious general, was twenty-one times decreed to Octavius by his soldiers after a victory (*Monum. Ancy.* i. 22; Dion, lii. 41). Augustus granted this title to several of his lieutenants. Blaesus, under Tiberius, was the last who obtained it (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 74).

² The censorship was incompatible with the consulship. The Senate at that time, *deformis et incondita turba* (Suet., *Octav.* 35), contained freedmen (Dion, xl. 48, 63), a private soldier (*id.* xliii. 22), and a muleteer (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xv. 4; Juvenal, *Sat.* vii. 199).

after having been searched (*praetentato sinu*); and while this operation lasted, ten armed senators surrounded the curule chair of the *praefectus morum*, who wore a cuirass under his toga. But the *charonites* and the *orcini*¹ accepted their condemnation in silence. This necessary severity may be called the last act of the Civil war. Lest men should see in it the beginning of fresh persecutions, Octavius declared that he had burned all Antony's papers.² This was closing the temple of Janus a second time (28 B. C.).

Many of the Conscript Fathers were poor. Octavius, who knew that in such times no consideration is shown except for wealth, required that every senator should possess at least twelve hundred thousand sesterces;³ and as the Senate was reached through the quaestorship, he closed that office against all who had not large estates, by imposing upon the quaestors the obligation of providing the people with combats of gladiators. But he took care to raise to the census-value the property of those senators who did not possess the required sum, finding in this measure the double advantage of increasing the authority of his Senate by making it richer, and at the same time placing the nobles under obligation as his pensioners.

To this assembly, now less numerous and more worthy, he transferred, as Sylla had formerly done, the most important affairs, taking them from the people; and none could attain the plebeian tribuneship till he had entered the Senate.

But the tribuneship had fallen so low that senatorial candidates were lacking; and he was compelled to sanction equestrian candidates, leaving the tribunes of the latter order the liberty, on the expiration of their office, of refusing the Senate, that they might

¹ The name *orcini* (*Orcus*, the surname of Pluto) was given to slaves set free by testament; hence the term applied to those senators who had entered the curia in virtue of Caesar's will as interpreted by Antony. The word *charonites* is merely a variation of it, but equally unpleasant for those to whom it was applied (Plutarch, *Anton.* 17; Suet., *Octav.* 35).

² He kept some of them, however, says his biographer, and made use of them later on (Dion, lii. 42).

³ About sixty-two thousand dollars (Suet., *Octav.* 41; Dion, lix. 17; *καὶ τισι . . . ἐλάττω . . . κεκτημένοις ἐχαρίσατο ὅσον ἐνέδει*). Was there a senatorial census under the Republic? A passage in Cicero (*Ad Fam.* xiv. 5) proves that in the time of Caesar a great fortune was not necessary in order to be a senator. Marquardt (*Handbuch*, iii. 2, pp. 218–228) and Willems (*Le Sénat de la Rép. rom.* sec. i. p. 189 sq.) think rightly that it was an innovation introduced by Augustus, who successively raised the amount from four to eight hundred thousand, and finally to one million two hundred thousand sesterces.

still remain knights.¹ The senators displayed little eagerness to repair to the sittings of the curia, though there were only two a month. The presence of four hundred members was necessary to make a senatus-consultum valid; as it was impossible to assemble that number, it became necessary to reduce it. This abandonment of public life attests clearly the universal lassitude; it was, notwithstanding appearances so carefully kept up by Augustus, the voluntary abdication ratifying the abdication that had been imposed.

Octavius also subjected the equestrian order to a strict censorship. He expelled from its ranks men of evil repute and those who had not the four hundred thousand sesterces required by the Roscian Law; the remainder he forbade to appear in the arena or on the stage. These measures effected their object; but with this old-fashioned severity he ran the risk of not finding men to whom he could give the gold ring. He was determined, however, to keep the three orders filled, as well as the ancient magistracies. Lest his scarcity of knights should be observed, he authorized those who themselves had had, or whose fathers had possessed the equestrian census, to take their seats at the circus upon the benches set apart for that order. He restored the ancient institutions because, being no longer dangerous, they became useful instruments in his skilful hands, and served as ornaments of his newly established power.

With a few thousand sesterces a senator or a knight could be made. It seemed more difficult to make patricians; and the war had destroyed so many old families that, in spite of Caesar's creations, patricians were lacking for the religious ceremonies, which they alone could perform. Octavius was anxious to appear as the restorer of religion as well as of the state; he obtained command from the Senate and people to create new patrician families.²

This *parvenu* took his precautions against the revolution which had borne him to fortune. He wished for a Senate and for nobles; in this society, so levelled by servitude and distress, he re-estab-

¹ Dion, liv. 30; Suet., *Octav.* 40; Dion, lv. 4; *id.* liv. 35.

² Dion, lii. 42; Tac., *Ann.* i. 2, and xi. 25; *Monum. Ancyr.* No. 8. There were no more than fifty old families: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ . . . πενήκοντα . . . οἴκοι (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, i. 85). The last mention is made of patricians in the edict of Diocletian for the *maximum*; but Gaius said that for a long time past the *gentilicium jus* had ceased to exist.

lished the grades necessary to make the distance between himself and the multitude. It was a vain precaution; for this factitious nobility, like any nobility which is not of its own begetting, while powerless to resist him who had created it, was also too feeble either to defend from enemies or to restrain him from his own errors. Three centuries later, Diocletian and Constantine took up this idea more seriously, but without any greater success. Octavius nevertheless retained all his rancor against the nobility; and he allowed it to appear by forbidding any senator to leave Italy without express permission.¹ It is true that here again his suspicions were veiled under the pretext of desiring a good adminis-

COMBAT OF GLADIATORS.²

tration of the state, and that the prohibition was renewed from ancient consular edicts, so that it appeared to be a return to old and wise customs.

The greater part of these measures were taken during his fifth consulship. In the following year (28 B. C.) he completed the census, which registered 4,063,000 citizens between the ages of seventeen and sixty.³ The last numbering, in the year 70, had given one ninth of this,—four hundred and fifty thousand. The

¹ Dion, lii. 42; Tac., *Ann.* xii. 23. In this edict Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis were considered as Italian territory.

² Painting in the house of Scaurus at Pompeii, from Mazois (*Pomp.*, i. pl. 32). Two Samnites have fought two *mirmillones*. On the frieze are inscribed the names of the gladiators, those of their masters, and the number of their victories.

³ *Momum. Ancy.* No. 8. This number of 4,063,000 citizens between the ages of seventeen and sixty makes the total population more than seventeen millions. See Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* iii. 461.

increase, which was especially due to Caesar, shows that he had perceived the necessity of rapidly assimilating provincials and citizens, and of establishing the Empire upon a broader basis than that upon which the Republic had rested. Octavius did not follow him in this path. The Roman people now numbered more than seventeen million souls; it was a nation. He considered it numerous and strong enough not to bend beneath the weight of the dominion which it maintained, while remaining, with relation to the provincials, a privileged class. Such, at least, was the part he destined for it; and during his reign the number of citizens only increased through the normal development of the population.¹

When the ancient censors closed the census, he whose name they had put at the head of the list of senators, generally one of themselves, was called the prince of the Senate,—*princeps senatus*; and this merely honorary position he was allowed to retain during his life. Agrippa gave his colleague this republican title (28 B. C.). No power was attached to it; only, in the absence of the consuls elect, the prince of the Senate spoke first: and in Roman customs the first expression of opinion carried great weight. What would it be, then, when it issued from the mouth of the man in whose hands lay all the military power of the Empire?

In reality, what Agrippa had done was to place the deliberations of the Senate under the direction of Octavius. No man had the right to complain of this; who even had the desire to do so? Festivals and games succeeded one another; the people had received a measure of wheat much larger than usual; the poor senators, gratuities; those who were in debt to the treasury before Actium, the acquittal of their debts; and four times Octavius came to the aid of the exhausted treasury.² Why doubt or fear? Had he not given a brilliant pledge of the respect he wished to show for law and justice by suppressing all the triumviral ordinances? Few statesmen have dared thus to pronounce their own condemnation and repudiate one half of their lives to secure the public sympathies for the other.³ Nothing, then, outwardly

¹ I return to this question at the beginning of chapter lxx. Augustus made especially individual concessions, *provincialium validissimis* (Tac., *Ann.* xi. 24).

² Suet., *Octav.* 32; Dion, liii. 2.

³ *Monum. Ancyrr.* No. 17. In order to establish the public chest, *fiscus*, he poured into it, in the year 6 B. C., 170,000,000 sesterces (*Ibid.* i. 37).

announced the master; he had just resigned the office of *praefectus morum*. If he was prince of the Senate, Catulus and twenty more had been so before him; if he was still consul, it was by the votes of the people. Was he not seen to take the fasces alternately with his colleague, according to the ancient custom, and, like the magistrates of old, to swear, on the expiration of his term of office, that he had done nothing contrary to the laws? The title of imperator was the only thing that announced a new epoch.

II. — NEW POWERS ACCORDED TO OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS.

IN the first days of the year 27 Octavius repaired to the senate-house. He declared that, his father being now avenged and peace re-established, he had the right to withdraw from the fatigues of government and take his share of the repose and leisure which his victories had secured for his fellow-citizens; consequently he placed his powers in the hands of the Senate.¹

Men had resigned themselves to having a master, and here was an unexpected act of disinterestedness making everything uncertain again. The greater number were struck dumb. Some feared; others, endowed with more foresight, doubted. The explanation of this comedy, played so seriously in the face of Rome, was soon forthcoming. Those who were in the secret, or who had been allowed to guess it, cried out against this shameful abandonment of the Republic, against these selfish desires which might be permitted to an obscure citizen, but were culpable in the man whom the world proclaimed and awaited as its savior. Octavius hesitated; but the whole of the Senate urged him to yield. At length he accepted; and a law voted by the people and sanctioned by the Conscript Fathers confirmed him in the supreme command of the armies, which he might increase or diminish at his will, and conferred on him the right to receive ambassadors and decide

¹ *De reddenda republica bis cogitavit, primum post oppressum statim Antonium . . .; ac rursus taedio diuturnae valetudinis* (Suet., Octav. 28). *Omnis ejus sermo ad hoc semper revolutus est ut speraret otium* (Seneca, *De Brev. vitae*, 4).

on peace or war.¹ It was not Octavius who usurped, it was the Roman people who despoiled themselves. The forms were preserved, and despotism was legalized. The character of the new monarchy at once manifested itself. The first decree which the ruler asked of the Senate was one to double the pay of the praetorians.

In all respects Octavius still kept up his affected moderation. The title of imperator, which was offered him for life, he would only accept for ten years, — and for even a shorter time, should he complete the pacification of the frontiers. The command of the armies required and brought with it the command of the provinces, and the senators had placed them all beneath his absolute authority by investing him with proconsular power. He feigned alarm at the magnitude of the charge; the Senate ought at least to share it with him. He would leave to them the calm and prosperous regions of the interior, and would take for himself those still in a state of disturbance or threatened by the barbarians. Since all men sacrificed themselves that day to the public good, the Senate submitted to the necessity of administering half the Empire. True, there would not be a single soldier in their peaceable provinces, which would be surrounded by the twenty-five legions of the imperator. Meanwhile, in the fervor of their gratitude, they sought a new name for him who was opening a new era to Rome. Munatius Plancus proposed the title of “Augustus,” which had hitherto been given only to the gods. The Senate and

¹ Cf. fragment of the *lex regia*: . . . *Poedusae cum quibus velit facere liceat*. I need not add that in the life of Augustus there was no opportunity for drawing-up the royal law of which the juriconsulti of Justinian made such great use. The promulgation of such a deed would have been contrary to the principles which regulated all his conduct. Indeed the explanation is very simple. The ancient kings of Rome, Cicero affirms in his *De Republica*, only took possession of the power by a curiate law, *lex de imperio lata*. During the whole time the Republic lasted, a consul-elect could only in like manner exercise his powers. As in the new organization the Senate replaced the ancient assemblies, the act by which it confirmed the Emperor, who soon became merely the choice of the soldiers, took the place of the *lex curiata de imperio*; hence the expression of Gaius (*Inst.* i. 85), that everything which the Emperor established by decree, edict, or letter had the force of law *cum ipse imperator per legem imperium accipiat*. But the Senate having by degrees come to enumerate in this deed all the powers attributed to the Emperor (cf. Tac., *Hist.* i. 42; ii. 55: *In senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur*; and iv. 3: *cuncta principibus solita*), the juriconsulti put these declarations together and made up a single formula, which they called not *lex curiata*, since there were no longer curiae, but *lex regia*, in memory of the ancient royalty to which they liked any reference.

people hailed this semi-apotheosis with repeated acclamations (January 17, 27 B. C.). A free course being opened to adulation, all

AUGUSTUS.¹

rushed into it. A tribune named Pacuvius devoted himself to Augustus, and swore an oath not to survive him. A foolish and servile multitude repeated the same oath after him. The long life of the ruler absolved them from keep-

ing their word, and the tribune had full leisure to reap the profits of his devotion. It was well to encourage baseness, so Pacuvius received gifts and honors.

The division of the provinces presently rendered another innovation necessary; namely, the division of the revenues. The public treasury (*aerarium*) was left to the Senate, and for the Emperor a private chest (*fiscus*) was established, which was to be supplied by certain taxes and the contributions of the imperial provinces. With his usual carefully calculated generosity, Augustus contributed a considerable sum to it as a foundation.

At the period which we have now reached, the founder of the Empire had as yet only the military authority in his hands, though in an exceptional manner. But Augustus was always willing to wait. In order to justify his power, he was absent from Rome for three years organizing Gaul and Spain, subduing the Salassi by the agency of one of his lieutenants, and in person, the Astures and Cantabri. When he returned to Rome (24 B. C.), after an illness at Tarragona, the joy caused by his recovery and his presence took the form of further concessions. He had promised a distribution of money; before making it he modestly begged the authorization of the Senate, who replied by granting him a dispensation from the Cincian Law relating to donations.² This unimportant dispensation was the first step towards the doctrine, that basis of absolute power afterwards proclaimed by Ulpian, — that the ruler is bound by no law. He was also flattered through the members of his family. Marcellus, his nephew and

¹ Small bronze piece of Augustus (*aureus*), representing on the obverse the head of that prince, and on the reverse an eagle, with the inscription, Augustus.

² The republican Senate had assumed to itself this right of dispensing with the observance of a law.

son-in-law, was empowered to canvass the consulship ten years before the proper age. A like exemption of five years was granted to Tiberius, his adopted son; and the one was made aedile, the other quaestor.

The idea of hereditary succession showed itself in these premature honors. But Augustus was too prudent to allow it to be now established; on the contrary, he proclaimed his republican sentiments more loudly than ever. In his eleventh consulship (23 B. C.), a new illness having brought him to the point of death, he summoned round his bed the magistrates and the most illustrious of the senators and knights. It was expected that he would declare Marcellus his successor in the title of emperor. But after he had talked of public affairs for some time, he gave to Piso, his colleague in the consulship, a statement of the forces and revenues of the Empire,¹ and to Agrippa his signet-ring. It was Alexander's will over again: To the most worthy! In the eyes of many it was even better, since he seemed to constitute the Republic his heir. That none might doubt this, he desired, on his recovery under the treatment of the physician Musa,² that the writing to which he had confided his last wishes should be read aloud to the Senate. The Fathers all declared that this proof was unnecessary, and refused to have the will read. Then he announced that he should resign the consulship; upon which there arose a new opposition on the part of the Senate and people. But he persisted in his disinterestedness, quitted Rome, where it was not permitted him to assume the part of a private citizen, and retired to the Alban Mount, whence he again sent in his resignation of the consular office. His choice of a successor was no less skilful. L. Sestius, a former quaestor of Brutus, a man who preserved a religious respect for the memory of that general, and had piously placed his image in the *atrium* of his house, was appointed consul.

It would have been ungrateful for Rome to be outdone by such magnanimity. The city must show herself as generous and confiding

¹ *Rationarium imperii* (Suet., *Octav.* 28).

² This cure gained for Musa, among other rewards, exemption from taxation (*ἀτέλειαν*) for himself and all the men of his profession (Dion, liii. 30). He had cured Augustus by means of cold baths. Thus we see that the hydropathic system is older than the peasant of Graefenberg. The remedy which had saved Augustus, a few months later killed, or at least proved unable to save, Marcellus.

as the imperator. He gave up a few months of consulship; the tribunitian power was conferred upon him for life, with the privilege of making any proposal he pleased to the Senate,¹ together with the pro-consular authority in the senatorial provinces as well as his own, and the right to wear the war-dress and the sword even within the *pomoerium*. This time it was indeed the abdication of the Senate and people; for to the military authority which he already held was added the civil power which the tribunes, owing to the undefined nature of their office, had more than once seized. Since ambitious men no longer sought support among the people, but from the armies, the tribuneship had fallen off greatly; it could still, however, furnish right to him who had only might, for it represented the national sovereignty.² Augustus did not refuse the pre-eminently republican magistracy, which carried with it



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inviolability and allowed him to receive appeal from all jurisdictions, to stay the action of all the magistracies and the vote of

¹ The tribunes and consuls had the right to propose legislative resolutions to the Senate and people. Augustus, who held the tribunitian, and was soon to hold the consular, power, had thus the initiative in law; that is, the real sovereignty. But with his customary prudence he limited himself to making use of it only once at each session of the Senate. Caesar, holding the dictatorship, had no need of the tribunitian power; it was necessary to Augustus, who had not wished to assume the dreaded title of dictator, and who as a patrician and imperator could not be tribune (cf. Tac., *Ann.* iii. 56).

² The power of the tribunes could be exercised only at Rome and within one mile of its walls; the *potestas tribunitia* of the imperator extended throughout the Empire. Dion (li. 19) certainly confines the *potestas tribunitia* of Augustus to the ancient limits; but Suetonius (*Tiber.* 11) speaks of Tiberius exercising it under Augustus at Rhodes.

³ Statue in Luni marble, with cuirass and rostrum; the plinth is decorated with the prow of a vessel (Rome. Museum of the Capitol).

all the assemblies; for the first duty of the tribune was to watch over the safety of the people (*ad tuendam plebem*), even if, in order to do so, he should have to transgress the laws, acting upon Cicero's celebrated and dangerous axiom, — *Salus populi suprema lex*. The Emperors reckoned the years of their reign by those of their tribunitian power. Thus the magistracy which had established liberty became the principal instrument of absolute government.

Augustus was to have, then, the right to propose laws, — that is, to make them; to receive and judge appeals,¹ — that is, the supreme jurisdiction; to stop by the tribunitian veto any measure, any sentence, — that is, to oppose his will at all points to the laws and magistrates; to convoke the Senate or the people, and to preside over — that is, to direct at will — the electoral comitia. And these prerogatives he was to hold, not for a year, but for life; not in Rome only, and to the distance of a mile from its walls, but throughout the whole empire; not shared with ten colleagues, but exercised by himself alone. And finally, he would be irresponsible; since his term of office never expired, and according to Roman custom the magistrate while in office could not be called to account. Here, then, we find ourselves in the presence of monarchy; and none could accuse Augustus of usurpation, for everything had been done by form of law, and even without any offensive innovation. He was neither king nor dictator, but only prince of the Senate, emperor in the army, tribune in the Forum, and proconsul in the provinces. What had formerly been divided among several



THE SEAL OF AUGUSTUS.²

¹ "Ἐκκλησιον δικάζειν (Dion, li. 19). Under the Republic, a man could invoke the intercession of the tribunes, or appeal to a magistrate of equal or superior standing against the sentence of the praetor, or any act of a magistrate whereby he thought himself injured. Being perpetual tribune, consul, and proconsul, Augustus naturally had the right to receive and judge appeals. The appellant deposited a sum of money, which was confiscated when the appeal failed (Tae., *Ann.* xiv. 28). Nero imposed the same obligation on those who appealed to the Senate from ordinary judges (*Ibid.*).

² Bronze seal discovered at Nîmes in 1739 (*Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, in duodec. vol. xiv. p. 105.) The Museum of Florence possesses a seal of Augustus found in the tomb of that prince.

was now united in the hands of one; what had been annual had become permanent. This was the whole revolution. It was the reversing of that which had been done after the expulsion of the Tarquins.

After this great step Augustus halted for four years, employing that time in organizing the eastern provinces and convincing the Romans of the uselessness of their republican magistracies. Of all the great divisions of the public power, there remained out of his hands only the censorship and consulship. I do not speak of the supreme pontificate, which he disdainfully relinquished to Lepidus. But the censorship was practically abolished, and he had caused the consulship to be given him every year. In order to let the Romans make one last trial of them, he re-established the one, and he gave up the other.

The comitia for the year 23 appointed Marcellus Eserninus and Arruntius consuls. As though Nature had been the accomplice of Augustus, no sooner had they assumed office than the Tiber overflowed, the plague desolated Italy, and famine alarmed the city. The people, seeing in these disasters manifest signs of the anger of the gods, rose against the Senate, which had allowed Octavius to desert his post and abandon the Republic. The senators, shut up in the curia, were threatened with being burned alive there unless they appointed him dictator and censor for life. Augustus refused; and the people insisting, he rent his garments in grief, he laid bare his breast, and demanded death rather than suffer the shame of making any attempt upon the liberty of his fellow-citizens. He accepted the supervision of the victualling, however, that he might have the right to watch with more solicitude over the maintenance of the people. As for the censorship, he bestowed it upon two former proscrip'ts, Munatius Plancus and Paulus Lepidus (22).

These two republicans were well chosen to bring dishonor upon the great republican office and deprive the Romans of the respect that they still retained for it. "The censorship of Plancus and Paulus was spent," says a contemporary, "in quarrelling with each other, producing neither honor to themselves nor advantage to the public; for one of them wanted the requisite capacity, the other the requisite character, for a censor. Paulus could hardly fill the office, and Plancus ought to have shrunk from it; for

he could not charge young men, or hear others charge them, with any crime of which he, in his old age, was not guilty.”¹ The censorship never recovered from the blow. Munatius and Lepidus were the last who were invested with this magistracy in its ancient form.² When the troubles of the year 19 led to a desire for the re-establishment of an office which should allow of reaching those whom the law could not touch, Augustus did for the censorship what he had done for the tribuneship, and what he was afterwards to do for the consulship,—he took the authority without the title. The office of *præfectus morum* was conferred on him for five years,—an undefined, and therefore all the more formidable power.³

The consulship fell in the same manner. He had not accepted it for the year 21. Forthwith the canvassing of former days reappeared; disturbances broke out, and all the city was agitated by those mad ambitions which pursued a shadow of power as though it were the power itself. Augustus was then in Sicily; he summoned the candidates before him, and after having sharply reprimanded them, caused the election to be made in their absence. But the peace of Rome was too important to be neglected. Agrippa, whom he had sent into honorable exile in order to please the young Marcellus, now dead,⁴ was recalled from Mitylene, whither he had retired, affianced to the Emperor's daughter, and sent to the capital. Order reappeared with him. Things went well till about the time when Augustus was making his preparations for quitting the East. In the expectation of his own speedy return, he allowed Agrippa to set forth against the revolted Cantabri, and left Rome to herself once more. Wishing, no doubt, to see what would happen in his absence, he did not make known before the

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 95.

² Suet., *Octav.* 37. Later on, Claudius held the censorship with Vitellius, and Vespasian with Titus (Suet., *Claud.* 16; *Vesp.* 8; *Tit.* 6).

³ This was not the old censorship, since the onerous duty of making the census was detached from it; but the office of *præfectus morum* continued to give him who filled it a right of surveillance over all the citizens.

⁴ Marcellus, the nephew and son-in-law of Augustus, had displayed great displeasure at that prince giving his signet to Agrippa in his illness. Augustus soothed this displeasure by a line of conduct at which Agrippa in turn took offence (23 B. C.). Being sent into Syria, he had withdrawn to Mitylene (Dion, liii. 33; Suet., *Octav.* 66). Marcellus died in the year 20 B. C.

1st of January, 19 B. C., his refusal to accept one of the two consular offices which had been reserved for him, so that the other consul, Sentius Saturninus, entered office alone. This novelty irritated the people; new comitia of election having been announced, men repaired to them with a passion and anger which recalled the palmiest days of violence in the Forum. Blood flowed. Circumstances appeared propitious for the Senate to reappear upon the scene; they exhumed the formula of old republican days, whereby the consul was invested with dictatorial authority, — *Caveat consul ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat*. Sentius knew his part and his strength better; he refused what was bestowed upon him, and the Senate sent deputies to Augustus. The imperator was satisfied, and named one of them consul. This was assuming the rights of the comitia; but the standards of Crassus, which he brought back with him, gloriously concealed the usurpation. Egnatius Rufus, the chief author of the disturbance, was punished with death.¹

Many decrees were passed, very flattering to the vanity of Augustus, — a petty trait, exceedingly common among all these grave and dignified Romans. He accepted but one, — that which consecrated an altar to the Fortune of Happy Return. But the experiment had been made. As soon as Augustus went away, Rome fell into disorder. Serious and judicious men thought so; they said so openly in the Senate; and on re-entering the city, Augustus met a proposal to accept the consular authority for life. He had already the reality of the consular power, — the army and the provinces; a portion daily increasing, without any fresh effort on his part, of the legislative and judicial authority; and finally, he was the real head of the administration and of the executive power, for the offices which seemed to be independent were open only to his creatures. He could therefore allow the nobles of Rome to play at a republic with that consulship which, hemmed in as it was on all sides, was no longer aught but an empty appearance. But his sovereignty would have remained incomplete had he failed to take possession of the office which gave power over all the citizens, which for five hundred years had represented

¹ Dion, liv. 10; Tac., *Ann.* i. 10. The new consul, Lucretius Cinna Vespillo, was one of the proscripts of the triumvirate. Dion relates (liv. 13) that Augustus often wore a little cuirass beneath his toga, even in the Senate.

the glory and might of Rome, and only lately had been on the point of changing to a dictatorship. He was consul, however, in the same way that he was tribune; that is to say, holding unshared all the rights of the office, while suffering others to bear its title and insignia. Not only did he maintain the consulship, but the needs of the service obliged him to make three, four, and even a greater number of consuls every year (*consules suffecti*).¹ He even went so far as to separate the title from the functions in order to bestow the former without the latter; and the inoffensive magistracy lasted longer than the Empire itself.²

We have seen that Augustus had the initiative in laws, in the curia as prince of the Senate, in the comitia as perpetual tribune; he also held legislative power in another manner. Most of the Roman magistrates could publish edicts.³ In his character of proconsul, tribune, and *praefectus morum*, Augustus already possessed this right; but it was limited to matters relating to each of those offices. In giving him the consular power the senators extended the *jus edicendi* of the consuls in his case to almost every question.⁴ They were ready to swear obedience beforehand to all the *leges Augustales*. Relying more on his own strength than on their oaths, he dispensed with this useless formality, and with his habitual prudence he avoided making frequent use of an unimportant right,

¹ Augustus bore the consular insignia, sat between the two consuls as their chief, and had always the twelve fasces; whereas the consuls in charge had them only a month each in turn. As for the candidates, he presented them to the tribes, or, like Caesar, recommended them by a message, *per libellos*, — *Commendo vobis illum*, etc. (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 41). The *ornamenta consularia* conferred no right; the *suffecti*, on the contrary, were really consuls, but the *fasti* only give the names of the two consuls who began the year.

² The consulship was abolished by Justinian in 541, sixty-five years after the fall of the Western Empire.

³ *Adjuvandi vel supplendi, vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia, propter utilitatem publicam* (*Digest*, i. 1, fr. 7, sec. 1). The constitution thus accorded the magistrates a share in the legislative power that they might fill up or correct by their edicts the omissions and defects in the laws which time brought to light. Hence resulted that rich development of the science of law which no other people has ever displayed. Of course the same latitude was not allowed to all magistrates in their edicts. Thus the curule-aediles only regulated matters relating to public order and municipal right. Yet there remains in the *jus civile* more than one trace of their prescriptions. The actions *redhibitoria* and *quanti minoris* which the *Digest* borrowed of them have even passed into the French Civil Code, Art. 1,644. (Cf., on the *jus edicendi*, Gaius, *Inst.* i. 6).

⁴ His edicts and rescripts had the force of law: *νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βούλοιτο* (Dion, lii. 15; liv. 10; liv. 38. Cf. *Lex de imp. Vespasiani*, Gaius, i. 5; *Dig.* i. 2; i. 4).

since he could, through the Senate and the comitia, in both of which he was master, cause to be made whatever laws he pleased. Of another prerogative, in appearance more modest, he made ample use. Being interrogated from all parts of the Empire about difficult or novel cases, he replied to the magistrates, cities, and even to private individuals; and these replies had the force of law. Tiberius afterwards testified to the number and importance of the legislative acts of his predecessor.¹ He himself followed the example, and his successors also imitated it; and the edicts, letters, and imperial rescripts became the most abundant source for the jurisconsults of Justinian. Being no longer drawn up from the narrow point of view of a city, but in the general interest, they embodied natural law in civil right. But for them the Roman code would never have been called "written reason."

Augustus had accepted the command of the provinces and armies for ten years only; at the beginning of the year 18 he obtained the renewal of his powers for five years. This time would suffice, he said, for the completion of his task. But when this had elapsed, he again asked an extension for ten years; and thus continued until his death, protesting each time against the violence done to his feelings for the sake of the public interest. In memory of these repeated abdications of the Senate and people, his successors always celebrated the tenth year of their reign by solemn feasts (*saera decennalia*).²

This Senate, which granted all that was asked of it, was a very docile one, certainly. But political bodies sufficiently numerous for the responsibility of each member to be lost in the mass do not always lend themselves to an absolute resignation, and the Senate had just shown some desire to act. Augustus, who wished to appear to govern through it, decided upon purging it a second time.³

¹ The Roman people did not, however, resign their legislative power in favor of Augustus. They communicated it to him in such a manner that this power was exercised conjointly by the Emperor, the Senate, and the comitia. Had this division been really made, the result would have been anarchy in the very power which should regulate all others,—that which makes the law. But the Senate and comitia only decreed what it pleased the Emperor to make them vote.

² Dion, liii. 16. Under Tiberius it was no longer aught but a mere ceremony (*Ibid.* lvii. 24; lviii. 24).

³ On two other occasions he had recourse to this measure,—in the year 13 B. C. and in 4 A. D.

Agrippa, whom he associated for five years with the tribunitian power, aided him in the task. Dion and Suetonius give the details, exaggerating, no doubt, the fears with which it inspired Augustus. A few free, out-spoken words were heard. One of the excluded men showed his breast covered with scars; another was indignant at being admitted while his father was expelled; and Antistius Labeo, who was chosen with thirty of his colleagues to present each a list of five candidates, placed at the head of his the name of Lepidus. "Do you know

COIN OF AGRIPPA.¹

none worthier?" demanded Augustus, angrily. "Do you not retain him as pontifex maximus?" coldly replied the great jurisconsult; and Lepidus again took his seat in the curia. But this return to the Senate did not rehabilitate him. Augustus avenged himself by indirect sarcasms, and the poor old man more than once regretted the solitude of Circeii. His death, which occurred five years later (13 B. C.), left the high pontificate vacant, and Augustus obtained it from the people for himself. It was his last conquest; there was no longer anything left worth taking.² A few years later (2 B. C.), he received the name of "Father of his Country,"—a title merely honorary in appearance, but having, as we shall see farther on,³ a certain religious importance, and for that reason retained by all his successors. It was no doubt on account

(Dion, liv. 26, and lv. 13.) The Monument of Aneyra says only: *ter senatum legi*. This was because he did not directly intervene in the fourth revision. *Τούτο δι' ἑτέρων ἐπραξεν*. He chose ten senators, from whom three were taken by lot to carry out the operation.

¹ Head of Agrippa; and on the reverse, Neptune between the letters S. C. Bronze coin.

² Suet., *Octav.* 31; Dion, liii. 17. The chief pontiff was the head of the official religion and of the college of priests, which regulated the ceremonies of religion, examined all novelties which men attempted to introduce, and, in a word, took cognizance of all religious questions. In an inscription from the Arch of Pavia which has been preserved to us by the anonymous copy of Einsiedeln, the titles of *pontifex maximus*, *augur*, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, and *septemvir epulonum* are given to Augustus in the year 7 B. C. These were the four great sacerdotal colleges of Rome, of which all the Emperors were afterwards members. Immediately after their accession they were enrolled in those to which they did not yet belong (Borghesi, i. 352, and iii. 429 *seq.*). The office of chief pontiff was held for life, like the title of emperor. Accordingly, we find double indications made on the coins of Augustus. For other offices the Emperor reckoned the number of years for which he had held them.

³ Chap. lxvi. sec. 3.

of this title that the priests were ordered to add to their prayers to the gods for the Senate and Roman people prayers for the Emperor also, — a custom which has been retained by modern nations.



AUGUSTUS AS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.¹

To a superficial observer, however, the Republic still existed.² Every one believed in it; even in the time of Tiberius, Velleius

¹ Statue in the Vatican, Round Saloon, No. 542:

² Under the Republic the comitia possessed a triple power, — electoral, judicial, and legislative. Augustus suppressed their judicial power (Dion, lvi. 40) in favor of the *quaestiones perpetuae*, the urban praetor and the Senate (*Id.* lii. 31). The praefect of the city also judged in many cases, and without assistance from juries. Augustus appeared to have had more respect

continually speaks of it. Was there not a Senate occupied with the gravest matters; consuls who retained the honors of their rank (*civitatis summa potestas*), and still appeared to conduct all affairs reserved for the Senate; praetors who administered justice in civil and criminal cases;¹ tribunes who exercised their veto even up to the time of the Antonines;² quaestors, finally, and aediles who

for the electoral powers of the *comitia*. He restored to the people the right, which Caesar and the triumvirs had assumed to themselves, of appointing to offices (Suet., *Octav.* 40); but in reality he retained the power of disposing of the most important functions: *potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 15). He nominated himself directly to one half the offices, and for the remainder he presented the candidates to the *comitia* and solicited votes for them, thus giving no opportunity for a refusal (Suet., *Octav.* 56). This recommendation even became, as a legal act, an actual proposal made to the people, and requiring their acceptance. (Cf. *Lex de imp. Vespasiani*, and App., *Bell. civ.* i. 103; Suet., *Vitell.* 11; Tac., *Hist.* i. 77). His consular power, moreover, allowed him to exclude the candidates who were displeasing to him. Tiberius had none of this circumspection; he suppressed the electoral *comitia*. But Dion (liii. 21) agrees with Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 91), Pliny the Younger (*Panegy.* 63, 64, 77, 92), Quintilian (*Instit.* vi. 3, 62), Suetonius (*Dom.* 10), and Vopiscus (*Taciti Vita*, 7), in stating that there was an apparent concourse of citizens at the election; and this, he adds, is still seen to this day (under Alexander Severus). It was only in the third century that the Emperors nominated themselves to all the offices (*Digest*, xlvii. 14; *fr. ex libris Modestini*). Even then there was an appearance of *comitia centuriata*, and the flag still floated over the Janiculum (Dion, xxxvii. 28). As for the legislative *comitia*, they are found under Augustus (Suet., *Octav.* 34; Tac., *Ann.* iv. 16; and Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12), under Tiberius (*Ad Ann.* 24: *medendum senatus decreto aut lege*), and further on (*lata lex*). This was the formula for a law voted in the *comitia*. They are found under Claudius; under Vespasian we find a *populi plebisve jussus* in the Royal Law. Under Nerva (*Digest*, xlvii. 21, 3) and Trajan mention is still made of laws voted in the *comitia*; and up to the time of Hadrian right seems to have been wholly regulated by laws and *senatus-consulta* (Gaius, *Inst.* i. 3). Even in the third century the adoption called *adrogatio* could only take place at Rome *et populi auctoritate* (cf. Gaius, *Inst.* i. 98-108, and Ulp., *Regul. lib.* viii. 2-5); but in that case the thirty *curiae* which formerly exercised the *auctoritas populi* were represented by thirty lictors, presided over by the chief pontiff, and it was to this man that Antonine addressed himself when he wished to permit wards *adroogari* (Gaius, *ibid.*). The *jussus populi et plebis* was also a mere formality at least a hundred years before Hadrian. The imperial policy delighted in making words last far longer than things.

¹ There were as many as sixteen under Caesar; Octavius restored the number to twelve (Vell. Patere., ii. 89; Tac., *Ann.* i. 4; Dion, liii. 32; lvi. 25). Fifteen or sixteen were found under Tiberius. They presided over the *quaestiones perpetuae* as long as they existed, — courts formed of senators, knights, tribunes of the treasury, and *ducenarii* appointed by the praetor. Later on, a praetor was established for *fideicommissa*; another for disputes between the treasury and private persons; a third for wards (Suet., *Claud.* 23; Dion, lx. 10; Capit., *Marc Anton.* 10). They were obliged to be at least thirty years old (Dion, lii. 20).

² Under Tiberius, a tribune opposed his veto to the Senate, and was successful (Tac., *Ann.* i. 77). Under Claudius, the tribunes still convoked the Senate (Dion, lx. 16). Under Nero, a tribune set free some men arrested by a praetor; but a limit was then set to the tribunitian jurisdiction (Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 28). Upon the duration of their veto, cf. Tac., *Ann.* xvi. 26; *Hist.* ii. 91; iv. 9 (under Vespasian); Pliny, *Epist.* i. 23; ix. 13 (under Nerva). They retained the right of bringing proposals before the Senate, and shared with the praetors, aediles, and quaestors the superior administration of the fourteen divisions of Rome.

held office in the name of the Senate and people;¹ while the comitia of tribes and centuries assembled to confirm the laws, appoint magistrates, and even, should it seem good to them, reject the proposals of the prince?

When a proposed law was in question, Augustus came and voted with his tribe; at a trial he gave his evidence as a witness, and the advocate might with impunity take him to task or utter sarcasms against him;² at an election he led forth, amid the crowd, the candidate whom he supported, and recommended him for their votes, but always added, even in the case of his nearest relatives, "If he deserves them."

This economical and simple man, who wore only the woollen garments that his wife, his sister, and his daughter had spun;³ who for forty years, winter and summer, occupied the same room in a modest house on the Palatine, the door of which was ornamented with laurels and a crown of oak-leaves; who in the Senate spoke, listened, and voted like an ordinary senator; who never shut his door against any,⁴ nor refused his aid to the poorest of his clients; who had friends; who went out to dinner without a guard,⁵ wher-

¹ The quaestors, who numbered twenty after Sylla's time (Tae., *Ann.* xi. 22), and were obliged to be at least twenty-five years of age (Dion, lii. 20), had the same powers as in the past, except that the administration of the *aerarium* was taken away from them and intrusted to two ex-praetors; but in exchange they had charge of the *senatus-consulta*, of which the aediles were deprived (Dion, liv. 36). Later there were *quaestores candidati*, whose chief duty it was to read the letters from the Emperor to the Senate (*Digest*, i. 13, 1, sec. 2; Tae., *Ann.* xvi. 27). The aediles, the number of whom was raised to six by the creation under Caesar of two aediles for the distribution of wheat (Dion, xliii. 51), had the right of judging certain matters, which for greater regularity Augustus made over to the praetors (*Id.* liii. 2). A share of their powers also went to the praefect of the city, the superintendent of provisions, and the commander of the night-watch; there remained to them only the surveillance of the streets, markets, baths, and books, the supervision *lupanarium* and *popinarum*, the care of carrying into force the sumptuary laws, which last duty Tiberius took away from them (Tae., *Ann.* iii. 52-53), and the heavy expense of the *ludorum solemnium*. Accordingly, the aedileship was little sought after, although on more than one occasion Augustus helped the aediles from his private purse to do the honors of their office. After the third century they are no longer mentioned. The college of vigintivirs (originally twenty-six in number) also existed.

² Like Murena in the trial of Primus (Dion, liv. 3). Violent libels were written against him; he contented himself with merely answering them publicly (Suet., *Octav.* 55).

³ At his meals there were only three, or at most six, courses, and these always of the plainest fare.

⁴ *Admittebat et plebem* (Suet., *Octav.* 53). A suppliant presented a petition to him, trembling. "Truly," said he, "you are as timid about it as if you were offering a piece of money to an elephant" (*Ibid.*).

⁵ He had a personal guard of German soldiers, however [like the Swiss or Scottish guard of some recent courts. — ED.].

ever he was asked, and gave his advice at family councils when it was desired;¹ who, finally, in order to save an obscure prisoner, pleaded with the prosecutor instead of interposing his veto,²—a man like this, what was he? A master, a god, as some declared him to be? No; he was only peace and order personified. When the people and Senate offered to raise statues in his honor, he refused, but erected them to the deities whom he wished to have honored above himself,—Public Health, Concord, and Peace.

That he might be in a position to bestow these good things, the essence of all the great republican offices had been extracted and given to him; and from the union of these powers had been formed an authority still nameless in the city, but limitless, because he who possessed it was the representative of the Roman people, the depository of their dignities, the guardian of their rights, which he

HEALTH (HYGIEIA).³

¹ Senec., *De clem.*

² Suet., *Octav.* 56, 57, and 72; Dion, xlix. 15; liv. 15 and 30; Vell. Patere., ii. 81. On returning from a journey he always entered Rome at night, in order to avoid the noise and display. Till within two years of his death he took part in the family festivals of his friends (Suet., *Octav.* 53; Dion, lvi. 26). Although he possessed the right, he never wore the sword or war-dress at Rome, but only the senatorial toga (Suet., *Octav.* 73). He forbade men to call him master or lord (*Ibid.* 53, and Dion, liv. 12). "Let them speak ill of me," wrote he to Tiberius, who blamed him for his moderation; "what does it matter as long as they cannot do me any harm?"

³ Statue in the St. Petersburg Museum. "In this statue," says Clarae, "we have the most pleasing of the representations of the Goddess of Health and her serpent." The Museum of the Louvre possesses a Hygieia, which is represented in Vol. II. p. 410.

exercised alone, in the name of the whole Republic. Formerly, the people balanced the Senate, and the consuls the tribunes; the proconsuls had one province only, the generals one army, and annual elections changed the whole administration. Now, these often contradictory wills were replaced by one alone; these often hostile powers were gathered into one hand and strengthened each other, instead of being at war. Lastly, each successive year no longer brought all things into uncertainty.

One man possessed for life the executive power and nearly all the legislative and judicial authority; and he was irresponsible, because his term of office never expired. What remained to the Senate and the people were but a few gewgaws which the ruler purposely left them to amuse their leisure and aid them in deceiving themselves. Perhaps we ought not to attach to these mock rights any more importance than they really have; but let us follow the example of Augustus, who surrounded these superseded dignities with respect, and was very careful not to speak aloud of their decay.

Their decay, forsooth! But the people made laws and bestowed offices; the imperial Senate had more prerogatives than ever the republican one had possessed. It governed half the Empire, and received ambassadors from foreign princes. It had the public treasury in its keeping; its decrees were laws,¹ as in the time of patrician omnipotence; and great criminals, withdrawn from the judgment of the people, were brought under its jurisdiction.² It decreed triumphs, and more than thirty generals

¹ *Senatus-consultum legis vicem obtinet* (Gaius, *Inst.* i. 4, and *Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2, sec. 9).

² The Senate usually tried attempts against the state or the Emperor; also extortioners and senators and their children who were accused of any crime. To enter the Senate, the number of which was restored to six hundred members (Dion, liv. 13), a man must be at least twenty-five years of age (Dion, lii. 20); he must be neither mutilated nor infirm (*Id.* liv. 26); he must possess 1,200,000 sesterces (Suet., *Octav.* 41), under Trajan, four million (Pliny, *Epist.* x. 3); and must have been quaestor. The Senate was convoked twice a month, on the Kalends and on the Ides, except in September and in October, the fever months at Rome, during which it was in recess and was replaced by a vacation assembly. The Emperor could convoke it as often as he thought fit (Dion, lv. 3; liv. 3). The consuls and praetors retained their right of convocation; the tribunes at length lost theirs (Dion, lxxviii. 37). The presidency belonged to him who had convoked the assembly. When the Emperor was not president he could always bring forward proposals (*ius tertiae relationis*, Vopis., *Prob.* 12). Four hundred members formed a quorum; but as the senators neglected their illusory duties, it became necessary, in the year 2 B. C., to lower this number. Two years later, Augustus was further obliged to punish the absent by fines (Dion, liv. 35; lv. 3). From the year 59, scribes, under

had already obtained them in ten years. It was the source of all legality, even in the case of the Emperor, who held his powers from it, and through it obtained their prolongation. It was the Senate which dispensed with legal prescriptions¹ and ratified conventions made by the ruler with foreign kings and peoples; which in time to come was to confirm the Emperors whom the soldiers had chosen, would appoint them itself, or tear up their wills if need were, even though the signature were that of Tiberius. More than this, it made gods; we shall see it decreeing Olympus or the Gemoniae Scalae to the dead Emperor. What was wanting to it, then? Assuredly, neither rights nor titles, nor even liberty of discussion; for more than once Augustus fled from the curia to escape violent altercations.

Yet what a pitiable contrast between the pomp of the forms and the emptiness of the reality! The sovereign people was no longer aught but a collection of beggars, who had the appearance of desiring whatever he wished who fed, amused, and paid them; and the Conscript Fathers, the senators of Rome, spoke and voted as became the creatures of the prince, who daily begged of him the money wherewith to satisfy their creditors. They did not even possess beneath their laticlave that liberty of the poor man in his rags, — to laugh aloud at the solemn comedy played by Augustus and the nobles of Rome.

III. — NEW OFFICES; MILITARY, FINANCIAL, AND ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION.

BEFORE showing how Augustus justified his power by his services, we must see in what manner the higher administration

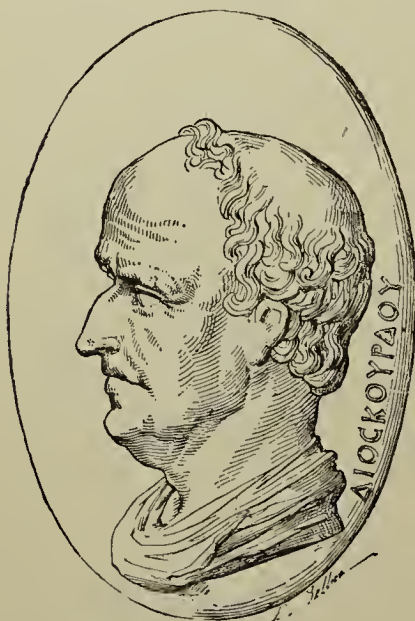
the superintendence of a senator, kept a register of the acts of the Senate (*acta diurna*). Augustus forbade their publication (cf. Suet., *Octav.* 36, and the extract given by Aulus Gellius, xiv. 7, from a treatise by Varro on the keeping of order in the Senate). Expulsion from the Senate rendered a man incapable of being a judge or witness by virtue of the Julian Law *repetundarum* (*Digest*, i. 9, fr. 2). By the *lectio senatus*, which he exercised in virtue of the *censoria potestas*, the Emperor summoned to the Senate *inter quaestorios, tribunicios, or praetorios* whom he would (the twenty quaestors became twenty new senators every year); and by his right of initiative he made this great instrument of the imperial administration work as he desired.

¹ Dion, liii. 18, 28; lvi. 32; lx. 23.

of the Empire was modified in order to make it harmonize with the new *régime*.

As there were apparently two powers in the state, the Emperor and the Senate, so there were two orders of magistrates, — those of the Roman people and those of the Emperor. The former, after a pretence of election by the Senate and people, annually filled the ancient republican offices, with the exception of the censorship: the latter, appointed directly by the Emperor, and subject to dismissal at his will, were invested for an undetermined period with new functions; and one of the rights of these functions always was — and this is characteristic — military authority.

In the year 25 Augustus made a definite magistracy of what



MAECENAS.²

had been only a confidential duty intrusted to Maecenas and Agrippa. He appointed Messala prefect of the city, "to repress without delay turbulent slaves or citizens;"¹ and for the purpose of maintaining order he gave him three urban cohorts. This prefect, the representative of the Emperor in his absence, held an authority at once military and civil, and, like all the Emperor's officials, he was not annually dismissed. Piso, the third prefect of the city, remained in office for twenty years, until his death.

This post, which was usually intrusted to the leading man among the senators, and was a fresh encroachment upon the consular authority, grew with the power from which it emanated; yet less rapidly than that of praetorian

¹ There had already been *praefecti urbis*, but under totally different conditions. The powers of the new prefect of the city extended to a distance of one hundred miles from the walls of Rome. He received appeals in all civil suits tried at Rome as far as one hundred miles round, and he at length acquired almost the whole of the criminal jurisdiction, with the right of banishing from Italy, etc. He decided without juries, taking only the opinion of his counsel. (See in the *Digest*, i. 12, 1, the analysis of a rescript of Septimius Severus upon his prerogatives; *Ibid.*, xxxvii. 15, fr. 1, sec. 2.)

² From a fine amethyst in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,077 in the Catalogue. The name of the celebrated engraver Dioscorides, which is seen behind the head, makes this engraved gem very valuable. (See above, p. 53. Maecenas when younger.)

prefect, which began more humbly. In every Roman army the leader had a personal guard,—*cohors praetoria*, formed of his bravest soldiers. Augustus, transforming the custom into an institution, organized nine praetorian cohorts, each consisting of one thousand men, with a certain number of horse;¹ three remained at Rome, six in the various towns of Italy. These praetorians had double pay, a brilliant uniform, and probably the rank of centurion, for they bore the vine-stock. They were under the command of two knights, praetorian prefects, who had the power of life and death over their soldiers. Under Augustus the praetorian prefects were merely military leaders; but they gradually encroached upon the civil authority, and at length became the chief personages in the Empire after the Emperor.

Below the prefect of the city were the *praefectus vigilum*—a prefect of police who commanded the seven cohorts of the night-watch, with the duty of keeping guard over the safety of the city and preventing the spread of fires—and the *praefectus annonae*,² who had the care of victualling Rome. The *vigiles*, who were drawn from among the freedmen, obtained the rights of citizenship after three years' service.

“To augment the number of persons employed in the administration of the state,” says Suetonius naïvely, “Augustus devised several new offices, such as surveyors of the public buildings, of the roads, the aqueducts, and the bed of the Tiber; for the distribution of corn to the people; the prefecture of the city; a triumvirate for the election of the senators, and another for inspecting the several troops of the equestrian order as often as it was necessary. He revived the office of censor, which had been long disused, and increased the number of praetors. He likewise required that whenever the consulship was conferred on him, he should have two

¹ Each cohort had ten *turmae* of cavalry, each numbering thirty-two men. From Vespasian's time there were ten cohorts. [This organization was similar to that of the English regiments of Guards or Household Brigade.—Ed.]

² The *praefectus annonae* saw that the wheat from the corn-producing provinces, Sicily, Africa, and Egypt, arrived at the appointed times, and that monopolists did not artificially raise the price of it. The *praefectus frumenti dandi* superintended the public distributions and prevented those from sharing in them who had no right thereto. There were also the *praefecti aerarii*, *alvei Tiberis*, *aquarum*, the *curatores aedium sacrarum monumentorumque publicorum tuendorum, viarum, riparum Tiberis et cloacarum urbis*, etc. (Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 6, and the collections of inscriptions.)

colleagues instead of one; but his proposal was rejected, all the senators declaring by acclamation that he abated his high majesty quite enough in not filling the office alone, but consenting to share it with another." Suetonius might also have enumerated several procurators created by Augustus for the financial administration of



SALLUST, THE HISTORIAN.¹

the Empire, the grades in the twenty-five legions promised to zeal and devotion, and in Rome itself that army of petty municipal officers whose importance he enhanced, — one thousand and sixty-four *vicomagistri*. Claudius went still farther: he instituted "the imaginary service;" that is to say, officials with no duties to perform. Such was the spirit of the new government: to weaken offices by dividing them; to increase the number of functions in order to attach to the Emperor's cause those who accepted them; and to surround

with an outward show of respect the ancient republican magistracies, as the illustrious dead are covered with a splendid pall. We must also observe, however, in these innovations the sincere desire

¹ Marble bust found at Rome near the *porta Salaria*, with the name of C. SAL. C. (Caius Sallustius Crispus) inscribed on the pedestal (H. d'Escamps, *Descr. des marbres du Musee Campana*, No. 62). The friends of Augustus and grand-nephew and adopted son of the historian had inherited his fortune. He possessed rich copper-mines in the country of the Centrones in the Cottian Alps (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 2).

shown to improve the public administration. These numerous disciplined agents, who received a fixed stipend in order that more might be required of them, answered better to the needs of the times and rendered the maintenance of order more easy. There was great gain in order, well-being, and security.

Augustus, who called himself a simple citizen of Rome, could not have ministers like a king; his friends gave him the help of their experience. We know them already, — Agrippa, Maecenas, Valerius Messala, Statilius Taurus, Sallust, the adopted son of the historian, and a few old senators of consular rank. The great number of questions to be examined and decided, compelled him at length to distribute the principal matters regularly among his friends. Thus he set over each province an ex-consul, who was its representative, as it were, at Rome, and who received all the appeals coming from it. This council, or cabinet, was organized by degrees. Suetonius, Dion, and Zonaras speak of fifteen members, and afterwards twenty, who were changed every six months, and chosen by lot. The lot, it is easy to believe, was neither so blind nor so free as to introduce any independent councillor. The consuls in office, who formed a higher tribunal for Italy and the senatorial provinces,¹ and a functionary from each order, were summoned to it. This council, in case of need becoming a high court of justice, and at a later period developing into the imperial consistory,² was reorganized in the year 13 A. D. It was then composed of twenty members, chosen for one year: these were the consuls in office and the consuls-elect, the princes of the imperial family, and any other persons whom the Emperor chose to invite; and its decisions had the force of *senatus-consulta*.³

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 4; Dion, liii. 21; Suet., *Octav.* 35.

² In the year 4 B. C., in order to decide a dispute between Archelaus and Herod Antipas, Augustus caused an account to be laid before him of the extent of their father's states and the amount of his revenues. He read the letters of Varus, governor of Syria, and of Sabinus, his steward in Judaea; then he assembled a great council of the principal men of the Empire, at which C. Caesar, the son of Agrippa and Julia, whom he had adopted, held the chief place, and asked each to give his opinion upon the matter under discussion (Joseph., *Bell. Jud.* ii. 4, and *Ant. Jud.* xvii. 9). He again assembled his friends and the principal men of Rome to know whether the Jews should be allowed to unite with Syria, or Archelaus should reign (*Id.*, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8).

³ Dion, lvi. 28. This council was itself very ancient; the governors of the province (Cic., *Verr.* ii. 29) and even simple judges (Val. Max., viii. 2) gave their decisions according to the opinion of those who assisted them. Mention is made of the imperial council under Nero

Hitherto, at least, the government had seemed to be exercised from the midst of the Senate; it was now transported to the palace of the ruler. Augustus could carry on the administration of the Empire in his bed.¹

In his eagerness to organize everything, he wished to bring the study of law itself under discipline, and to make an official magistracy of what had always been a free profession. He created a college of *prudentes*, who gave answers to all questions in the Emperor's name. The judges, whom he chose to institute himself, were obliged to accept the decisions of these jurisconsulti when they were unanimous. A judicial law regulated the procedure.²

These rights conferred on the ruler, and this administration in which he enveloped Roman society, would have been useless but for the army; this he made permanent, after having purged it also, and subjected it to severe discipline. Then, with a skill in which Agrippa's advice is evident, Augustus laid down the principle of massing the troops, avoiding detachments and small garrisons, in which discipline and military spirit are lost. He had twenty-five legions recruited outside of Italy, and especially by voluntary enlistment; these he posted along the frontiers.³

(Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 62, and Suet., *Nero*, 15), under Vespasian (Suet., *Vesp.* 17), under Trajan (Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 22; vi. 22 and 31), etc. The upper Empire had thus a sort of council of state to elaborate laws, which was at the same time a court of justice; but its members had neither an official and permanent appointment, nor regular sessions, nor any particular place for their deliberations. Like our courts of appeal, they did not make the law, but determined its meaning, — *ut major juris auctoritas haberetur* (*Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2. sec. 47).

¹ Dion, lvi. 28. Three of the members of this council, men of consular rank, were intrusted with a sort of ministry of foreign affairs. The envoys of kings and allied nations addressed themselves to these alone, except in important cases, in which the Senate or the prince decided. The freedmen and slaves of the prince were kept in the background; but some of them already held posts which afterwards became very important, — *a libellis, ab epistulis latinis, ab epist. graecis*, etc. (Cf. Hirschfeld, *Röm. Verwaltungsgesch.*, p. 202.)

² In the year 25. (Paulus, in the *Digest*, xxii. 5, fr. 4, and xlviii. 2, fr. 3.) *Quibus permissum est condere jura* (Gaius, *Inst.* i. 7). *Saepe . . . judicium decurias recognovit* (Suet., *Octav.* 29). Pomponius, in the *Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2, sec. 47, and Gaius, *Inst.* i. 7. Later on, the Emperor formed a privy council for the consideration of juridical and disputed matters, — the *auditorium*.

³ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 5, and Dion, lv. 23. They each contained about six thousand foot and a small number of horse, which rose at length, in the time of Vegetius (*De re mil.* ii. 6), to 7,260, with an almost equal number of auxiliaries (*cohortes auxiliae*), who retained their national dress and arms (Tac., *Hist.* ii. 89). The pay of a legionary was ten ases (five eighths of a denarius) a day, or two hundred and twenty-five denarii a year: *denis in diem assibus animam, et corpus aestimari; hinc, vestem, arma, tentoria redimi*. The state, then, only provided wheat free of cost. The praetorians (nine thousand foot and some horse), who received double (Dion, liii. 11), and whose pay was raised by Tiberius to seven hundred and twenty denarii,

Facing the Barbarians were three hundred thousand men stationed in permanent camps (*castra stativa*), — living ramparts, against which the wild waves of the invasion long dashed in vain.

Flotillas were attached to the legions of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates; and four fleets, at Ravenna, Fréjus, Misenum, and in the Euxine, kept order on the seas, — a thing which the Senate had never done with regularity. Then was seen the strange spectacle of an Empire of sixty million souls armed only on its frontiers, and ruled in the interior without a single soldier,¹ — a marvel which was no doubt due in a great measure to the impossibility of a successful revolt, but also, and especially, to the gratitude of its subjects towards a government which at first exercised only a high and salutary protection, without interfering in any petty way in the administration of local interests.

These soldiers (after 5 A.D.) were required to serve twenty years in the legions, sixteen in the guards. The state took the best part of their life; accordingly, the Emperor promised not to abandon those who should merit the *honesta missio*.² To reward discharged soldiers, was an old republican custom; the innumerable colonies formerly founded by the Senate had had that

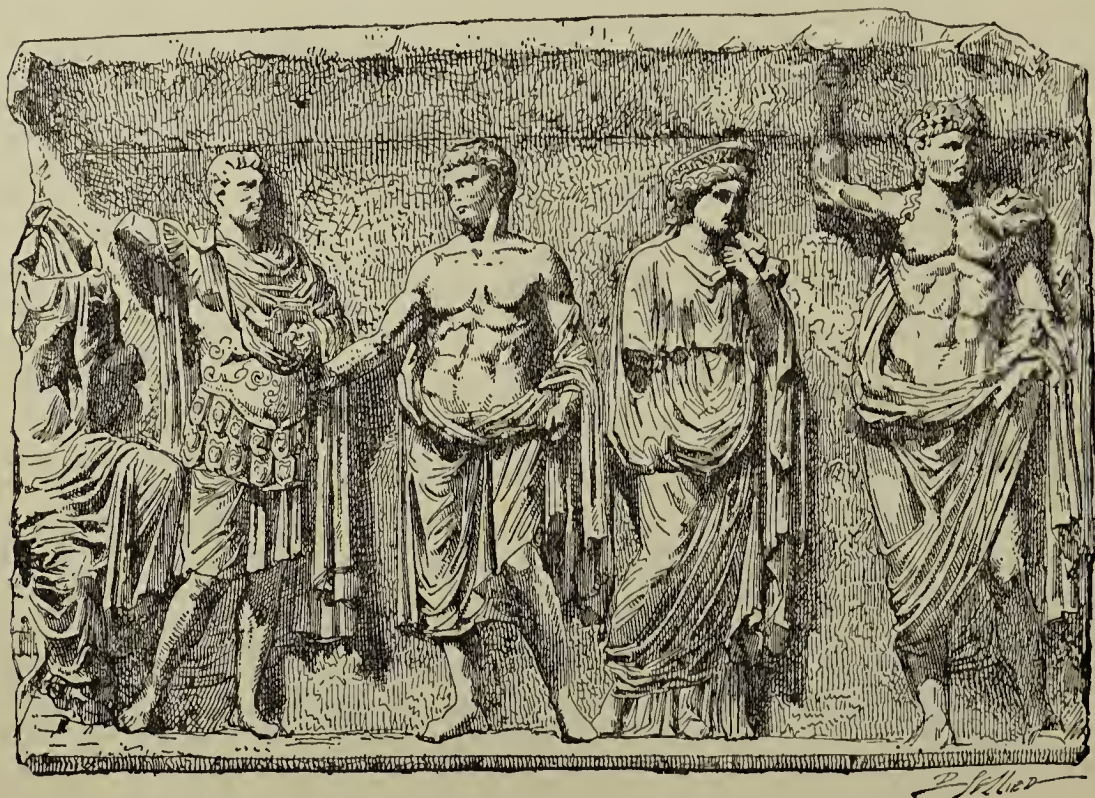
were recruited, like the urban cohorts, in Italy (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 5); the legions were drawn from the provinces and often from among the soldiers of the auxiliary cohorts, who by legionary service won the right of citizenship. Besides the cohorts formed of provincials, there were thirty-two of volunteers (*coh. ital. civ. rom. voluntar.*), either Italians or Roman citizens settled in the provinces, who preferred to live on military pay rather than by work. The ancient method of recruiting (*legere milites*) still continued, for Tiberius was ordered to visit the slave factories of Italy in order to find those who were hiding there, *sacramenti metu* (Suet., *Tib.* 8). But recourse was rarely had to it; for to keep the twenty-five legions up to full strength very few soldiers were needed each year, and a great number of volunteers was always forthcoming. (See in the *Digest*, xlix. 16, 4, sec. 10, and below, chapter lxx.) The legion was commanded by a *legatus*, an ex-prætor, who had under his orders ten tribunes, heads of the ten cohorts of the legion, the *præfectus castrorum*, a kind of chief of the staff, who came next after the tribunes, and the *præfectus equitum*. The cohort was divided into six centuries, each commanded by a centurion; the cavalry into twenty-two *turmae*, under a decurion. Besides the legions and their auxiliaries stationed along the frontiers, some native corps were left in certain localities. Thus the Helvetii guarded one fortress of their country with their own soldiers; the Rhaeti had a militia in their province (Tac., *Hist.* i. 67, 68); a cohort of Ligures kept watch over the country round Fréjus, — *vetus loci auxilium* (Tac., *ibid.* ii. 14), etc. But these were only unimportant exceptions.

¹ [Nearly the same thing may now be seen in the great Republic of the United States, except that its frontier enemies are quite insignificant. — Ed.]

² Dion, lv. 23. Augustus had not at first dared to impose so long a term of service; in the year 13 B.C. a regulation had only required sixteen years of the legionaries and twelve of the prætorians (*Id.*, liv. 25).

character, and we have seen what evils the application of the principle had brought upon Italy. Augustus, unwilling that such commotions should again take place, substituted money for land; he gave the veterans of the legions three thousand denarii, and those of the praetorian cohorts five thousand.

In deciding to keep a standing army and allot salaries to the state officials, and in accepting the duty of making military roads

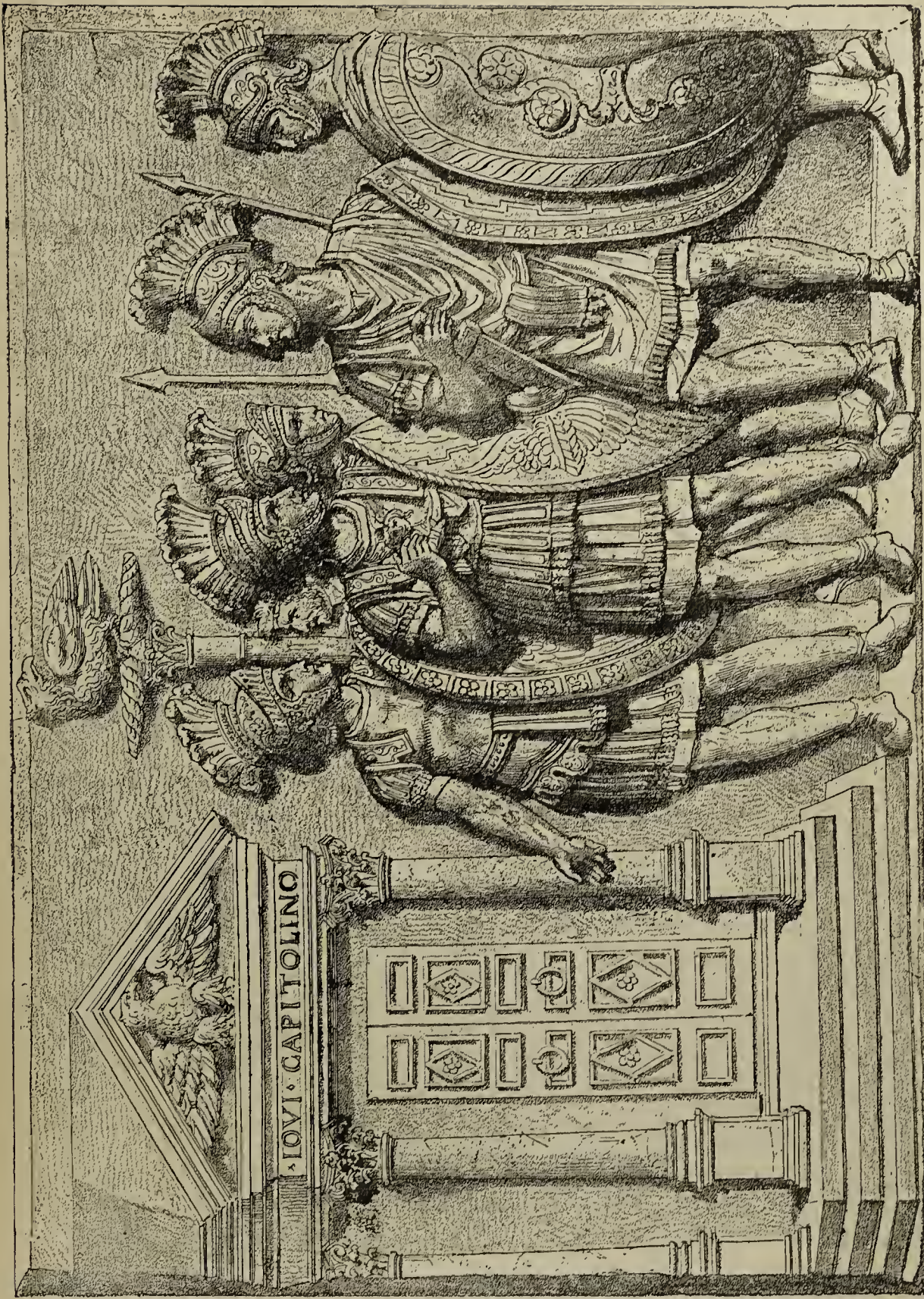


SACRIFICE IN HONOR OF CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS AT RAVENNA.

through the provinces and aiding the towns in works of public utility, Augustus was necessarily deciding upon an increase of taxation,¹ since new revenues would be needed for new expenses. There were certainly some remnants of the *agri publici* left; the incomes from the mines and quarries; the customs-dues of the provinces, which amounted to one eighth of the value on objects of luxury and one fortieth on other articles, one twentieth on manumissions; and above all, the former tribute of the provinces, — the tithes, the property-tax, and the poll or personal tax.² But

¹ See in Vol. II. p. 239 *sqq.*

² M. L. Renier (*Inscr. de Colonia Julia Zará*) thinks that in Africa the entrance-dues were not so high. Marquardt (*Handbuch*, ii. 267 *sqq.*) gives a certain number of these different tariffs.



PRAETORIAN GUARDS (FROM A BAS-RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE).

all this was insufficient. Instead of overweighting the provincials, Augustus boldly asked the citizens for the funds he needed; and in this act is manifested the true character of the Empire, which was at first a government of reparation and justice. The Republic, making the whole world subservient to the advantage of Rome, had exempted its citizens from taxation; Caesar restored the custom-houses in Italy, and Augustus brought in financial measures which were very nearly equivalent, as regards the Italians, to the re-establishment of the ancient *tributum ex censu*. He laid a duty of 1 per cent upon all articles, movable goods or fixtures, whether sold in the markets or by auction, even at Rome and in the Italian peninsula.¹ On sales of slaves the duty was 2 per cent.² Six years after the commencement of our era, he created the tax of a twentieth, to be paid by citizens who, without being heirs by kindred, received an inheritance or legacy exceeding the value of a hundred thousand sesterces.³

This measure, which respected the rights of nature and of poverty, was just in its principles and excellent in its effects, for it placed impediments in the way of an unwholesome industry. At Rome many wealthy men avoided marriage and lived surrounded by a crowd, among which might sometimes be seen praetors and ex-consuls, who, for the sake of being remembered in a will, paid assiduous court to some morose old man. It was well that the law should reach these vultures, as Martial calls them, and that the state should intervene between the inheritance and these strangers, and take a portion of their illegitimate gains to be used in the public interest. The frequency of such legacies rendered the state's share a very considerable one. It is not improbable that, thanks to this tax and to Roman customs, all the property of the citizens passed in a few generations through the treasury. Thus the *vicesima hereditatum et legatorum* became the principal source from which the *aerarium militare* was replenished.

It is impossible to arrive at even an approximate valuation of the revenues of the Empire; they perhaps amounted to sixty

¹ Tac., *Ann.* i. 78 : *Centesimam rerum venalium*. (Cf. Suet., *Calig.* 16.)

² Dion, *lv.* 31. This duty afterwards rose to 4 per cent (Tac., *Ann.* *xiii.* 31).

³ Dion, *lv.* 35; Suet., *Octav.* 49; Tac., *Ann.* *ii.* 42; Pliny, *Panegy.* 37. Our less humane legislation imposes the same dues on the inheritance of the poor as on that of the rich.

or seventy million dollars.¹ This was a very small budget; but as all communal and provincial expenditure was borne by towns and provinces, the Empire had only to pay for an administration still very simple, and a not very numerous army.² Thus Tiberius found means to amass a sum equal to seventy or eighty million dollars.³

In civil courts there still existed the ancient distinction between the case *in jure* before the magistrate who indicated the legal formula applicable to the case, and the case *in judicio*, where the point of fact was decided upon by the centumvirs, the *recuperatores*,⁴ the judge whom the magistrate had deputed, or the arbitrator whom the two parties had accepted. In the first centuries of the Empire, then, the Romans retained a course of civil proceedings which in certain points recalls our modern juries. But the cases *extra ordinem*, — that is, in which the magistrate, freed from the ancient rules, himself conducted the inquiry and pronounced the sentence, — grew so numerous as to invade all suits. Diocletian made this exceptional form a general rule; and competency ceased to be determined by the nature of the interests to be decided upon.

In criminal proceedings the judicial organization underwent serious changes. By assigning to the three prefects of the *vigiles*, the *annona*, and the city a share of the civil and criminal jurisdiction;⁵ to the Senate the cognizance of crimes committed by

¹ Even this amount will appear exaggerated if we call to mind that in 61 Pompey declared that by his conquests he had raised the public revenue from fifty million to eighty-five million denarii. (See Vol. III., p. 198, note 1.) In chapter lxvii., sec. 2, we shall speak of the different funds among which all these revenues were divided.

² The embellishments of Rome were generally made by private individuals, and the wheat, which was sold at a low price to the people, was furnished by the corn-producing provinces.

³ Suetonius (*Calig.* 37) says 2,700,000,000 sesterces, and Dion (lix. 2) 2,300,000,000.

⁴ The origin of the *recuperatores* is obscure. They seem to have had the charge of suits in which the parties were of different stations, — as citizens and peregrini, patrons and freedmen, etc. (Gaius, *Inst.* iv. 46), — or of suits which required a prompt decision. They were proposed by the parties, who had a reciprocal right of challenge. Civil affairs, those which concerned quiritarian property and questions bearing thereupon, wardships, successions, testaments, etc., were decided by the centumvirs, — a hundred and twenty judges chosen by lot for each affair from among the four thousand senators, knights, and ducenaries annually inscribed in the *album judicum*. The centumvirs were divided into four sections, each of forty-five members, convoked by the *decemviri stlitibus judicandis*. On the importance of the questions brought before the court of centumvirs, see Cicero (*De orat.* i. 38). Under the Empire judicial eloquence took refuge there (Pliny, *Epist.*, *passim*). The number of four thousand jurors is given by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxx. 7).

⁵ See above, p. 95, note 2.

its members, by public functionaries, or persons of consideration in the state; and to the Emperor the right of deciding in all serious cases brought before him on appeal or reserved by him for himself,¹ — the *quaestiones perpetuae* by degrees fell into desuetude, and criminal justice, instead of being administered by jury, that institution of free states, was dealt out by the agents and instruments of the ruler. Thus when tyranny made its appearance, it found odious instruments ready, which enabled it to conceal its vengeance beneath the mask of law.

To sum up: behind the official government, wholly republican in form, which sat, grave and idle, in its curule chairs,² was the real governor,³ scarcely ever visible in the curia or Forum, who noiselessly and without display carried on all the business of the Empire.

He had his fleet and his legions, which he never disbanded, and his private treasury for the payment of his soldiers and officials. He was irresponsible, for his functions lasted for life; and as perpetual tribune, his person was sacred and inviolable. He appointed directly to nearly all offices, and indirectly to the others. Foreign nations knew only the military chief of the Empire, the man who decided on peace or war, who gave the citizenship at his will and held allied kings under his supreme control.

To him half the provinces, with their revenues, expressly belonged, and the rest obeyed his orders when he chose to give them. In the city he was at the head of the priesthood, of the Senate, and of the people, and as *praefectus morum* his power extended into the private life of all men. The consular power and the tribunitian authority gave him control over all citizens, who were bound by his decisions and edicts, and whom by his right to pardon he could withdraw from ordinary tribunals. From Rome, from Italy, and from the provinces, the oppressed stretched out their hands to him, for as head of the government, tribune and proconsul, he received all appeals; and from one frontier of the Empire to the other he appeared as the guardian of the right, the redresser of injuries, and the refuge of the unfortunate.

¹ The Emperor judged with the assistance of a council, or sent the affair either to the Senate or to a *judex* (Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 6), and afterwards to the prefects of the *praetorium*.

² The Senate had only twenty regular sittings every year (Dion, iv. 27).

³ Appian (*Praef.* 6) says of the Emperors from Caesar onwards: *Εἰσι δὲ ἔργῳ πάντα βασιλεῖς*.

The praetorians and a guard of German and Batavian horse secured his inviolability, the prefect of the city watched on his behalf over the maintenance of order in Rome, with the forty-five hundred men of the three urban cohorts, having a care that the *praefectus annonae* should keep the public granaries always filled, and that the *praefectus vigilum* maintained security in the streets. Though praetors, annually chosen by lot, administered the public treasury (*aerarium*) in the name of the state, the Emperor caused the Senate to open it to him; so that the army, justice, religion, the law, the finances, the officials, all the resources and all the living forces of the Empire, were in his hands.

He had constituted himself the soul of this great body, that he might regulate all its movements according to his will; and in order to bind the whole Empire by the tie of an oath, every year, on the first of January, the Senate, the people, the legions, and the provincials swore fidelity to him.

This was the government: we shall now study its operation.

¹ Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 190 in the Catalogue.



AUGUSTUS, CROWNED WITH OAK AND OLIVE.¹

CHAPTER LXVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF AUGUSTUS AT ROME AND IN ITALY.

I. — THE POPULATION CLASSIFIED.

NOTWITHSTANDING the noise of arms that had been heard not long since upon the Sicilian coasts, in the Ionian Sea, and on the shores of the Nile, a great calm had settled down upon mankind; and Roman society, tranquil and indifferent, was ready to submit with docility to whatever measures the new authority might please to take for the purpose of securing order and making permanent the reign of law.

By a kind of monarchical instinct, which in the mind of Constantine was to become a settled principle of social organization, Augustus began to introduce divisions and ranks into the state, in order to restore subordination and discipline. He saw that the man who stood alone above all, had cause to fear all; and to guard the approaches to power, he placed between himself and the multitude a host of men arranged in gradations one above another, so that this hierarchy, as it was called later, pressing with all its weight upon the masses beneath, might keep the populace and men of factious disposition quiet.

What remained of the old patrician nobility held the first rank in the city, with the privilege of exclusively filling certain religious offices; below them came the senatorial nobility, half hereditary; still lower, the moneyed nobility or the equestrian order: three aristocracies one above another.

The Senate consisted — first, of the titular senators, six hundred in number, whose names had been inscribed on the yearly official list; secondly, of the twenty quaestors annually in office, to whom their position opened the curia, and the ex-quaestors, who had not

yet become titular, by replacing on the official list deceased senators.¹ The titular alone were really senators; the others were called "those who are authorized to speak before the Senate" (*quibus in senatu sententiam dicere licet*). We see that Augustus took into the high assembly the prospective great officials of the Empire that he might animate the whole administration with one spirit. Even among the titular senators there existed distinctions which were of very ancient date, — a man's seat was determined by the office he had held, whether consul, praetor, tribune, aedile, or quaestor. These were various degrees of nobility, as it were; a praetor was not the equal of a consul, and those who had only received the insignia of these offices ranked below the men who had actually fulfilled the duties. We know, too, that to enter the curia it was necessary to possess the senatorial census, and that no mutilated person was admitted,² — a limitation which would be very strange among a nation of soldiers, had it not been inspired by a religious idea which has passed into the discipline of the Roman Catholic clergy.³

The sons of senators formed an intermediate class between the senatorial and equestrian orders. They shared in some of the honorary prerogatives of their fathers. From the age of seventeen they wore the laticlave and the black buskin, were present at the sittings of the Senate,⁴ and when their term of military service was completed, obtained one of the offices of the vigintivirate at Rome.⁵ These duties initiated them into public affairs and facilitated the entrance to the quaestorship, and so to the Senate.⁶

¹ Velleius Patereulus says: *Designatus quaestor, necdum senator aequatus senatoribus* (ii. 111). Augustus must have made a *lex annalis*, such as the Republic had had. Dion says Maecenas proposed it to him (lii. 20); and we know that a man could not attain the quaestorship before twenty-five, nor the praetorship before thirty. (Cf. Capitolinus, *Marc Anton.* 5.)

² Dion, liv. 26: . . . χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις ἀνάπηρος ᾖν.

³ [Has it not rather come to us from the Mosaic law? — ED.]

⁴ Suet., *Octav.* 38. See in the *Digest* (i. 9) how much the juriconsults occupied themselves about this class; they even continued the title and privileges of a senator's son to the child conceived before his father's expulsion from the Senate (*Ibid.*, Ulp. 7: *Ad legem Juliam et Papiam*).

⁵ *Triumviri capitales, triumviri monetales, quattuorviri viarum curandarum and decemviri stlitibus judicandis*. It was necessary to be at least twenty-two years of age to attain it (Pliny, *Epist.* x. 83).

⁶ Claudius thus regulated the military promotion of knights, — *cohors, ala, tribunatus legionis* (Suet., *Claud.* 25). A cohort, which numbered six hundred men, corresponded nearly to a French battalion. The knights, therefore, started with a very considerable command; but

There existed, then, with respect to this body a sort of hereditary right not unlike what Augustus proposed himself in connection with the supreme power, — in neither case openly avowed, but suggested as a necessary condition of stability.¹ In the second century the senatorial families came to form an hereditary nobility (*ordo senatorum*).² From this time forward, the Conscript Fathers, their wives and children, were withdrawn from the ordinary administration of justice, and were only subject to the jurisdiction of the Senate.³

One privilege accorded to the sons of senators had serious consequences. As they attained the legionary tribunate and the prefecture of cavalry merely by right of rank, promotion by birth often replaced promotion for service; and the evil at length became so great that Hadrian, one of the restorers of Roman discipline, was obliged to declare that he would appoint no more beardless tribunes (*nec tribunum nisi plena barba faceret*). Moreover, as it would have been imprudent to let



YOUNG ROMAN IN TOGA (VILLA ALBANI).

this command was often nominal rather than real. At the age of twenty-five these *tribuni militum honores petitori*, as Pliny calls them (*Epist.* vi. 31), solicited the quaestorship (Orelli, No. 3,714: *quaestor designatus annorum xxiv*), then the aedileship and tribuneship, and at thirty the praetorship; whence it may be inferred that the offices of the vigintivirate were not so much a magistracy (*honos*) as what is called in the *Digest* (l. 16, 239, sec. 3) a *munus*, or personal obligation. Upon the vigintivirate, see Dion (liv. 26) and L. Renier (*Mél. d'épigr.* pp. 203–214).

¹ Below them came the former senators who for one reason or another had quitted the Senate (Dion, liv. 14).

² Tacitus already speaks of consular families (*Ann.* vi. 49; xiii. 12), and Philostratus likewise (*Vita Apoll.* iv. 45).

³ Dion, lii. 31, 32; Suet., *Calig.* 2; Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 44; Pliny, *Epist.* ix. 13.

these beardless youths fulfil the duties of their office, it was necessary to associate old centurions with them: the latter doing all the real duty (*tribuni minores*); the former having all the honors (*tribuni maiores*).¹ The Roman legions then suffered from the evil which made havoc with modern armies in the last century, when a colonel's epaulets awaited the child in its cradle, and officers of good birth barred the way against officers of fortune.

Augustus established distinctions in the equestrian order. Knights of noble origin and having the senatorial census formed



CAIUS.



LUCIUS.

THE GRANDSONS OF AUGUSTUS.²

a separate class, that of the *illustres*, which was the nursery, as it were, for the Senate. When that assembly did not provide candidates for the plebeian tribunate, they were taken from among the *illustres*. The prefecture of the praetorium and that of Egypt, and the control of several provinces, were reserved for them, as well as the superintendence of provisions, the command

¹ *Tribunus major per epistolam sacram imperatoris judicio destinatur, minor tribunus provenit ex labore* (Vegetius, ii. 7). This author belonged to the fourth century; but the evil had its origin in the institutions of the first Emperor, and we have just seen that Hadrian affirmed it a century after Augustus.

² Caius and Lucius Caesar; from two cameos in the *Cabinet de France* (Nos. 204 and 205 in the catalogue).

of the night-watch, the higher ranks in the army, and almost all the newly created posts, which enriched a man, whereas the senatorial offices ruined him. The latter compelled him to give games and festivals; the former insured a salary of one, two, or four hundred thousand sesterces. Finally, at the head of the knights were the grandsons of Augustus, the "princes of the Roman youth," and in their ranks the Emperor's dearest friends, Maecenas and Sallust. In the army they no longer formed the cavalry of the legions, which was principally furnished by the allies; but the six companies of horse-guards (*equites equo publico*) were kept at Rome for solemn occasions. The Emperor reviewed them every year, and placed in them the most distinguished of the young nobility. This honor of "the public horse" was afterwards bestowed even upon boys;¹ and those who possessed it had seats at the theatre in a place apart from the other knights (*cuneus juniorum*). As for the crowd of moneyed men, the veteran who obtained the gold ring as a reward for his services, the provincial whom the Emperor created knight, and who came to live at Rome,—these took charge of the civil courts, which employed four thousand judges or jurors.

Thus the senators deliberated upon great public affairs; the principal knights undertook almost the whole administration of the Empire; and these formed the twofold aristocracy upon which Augustus rested his power in the interior,—an aristocracy not of birth, in spite of some appearances of hereditary descent, but of money; for in order to enter the Senate or the equestrian order, or to obtain an office, a settled and considerable fortune was necessary,²—an aristocracy which he augmented at will, for as kings are wont to grant patents of nobility, so he sent the decorations of consul, praetor, tribune, or quaestor to citizens who had not held these offices, or gave the gold ring to men whom he wished to raise to the rank of knights.³

¹ We find in inscriptions *equites equo publico* who died at the age of sixteen, and even five. Cf. Orelli, 305(?)–3, and L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algér.*, 1825–1826.

² Dion, liv. 17. Men were sometimes mistaken about their fortunes, or found the office too great a burden; for I see that in the year 19 an aedile resigned his office on account of poverty (*Id.* liv. 10).

³ *Insignia consularia*, etc., or *inter consulares, praetorios . . . referre*. Caesar had already done so (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 76; Dion, xliii. 47). He likewise bestowed the *triumphalia ornamenta* (Suet., *Octav.* 38).

At official receptions the senators were permitted to kiss the Emperor; the ruler contented himself with saluting the *illustrious* knights by name when he wished to be gracious to them.

After the knights came the citizens of Rome, who held a place midway between the equestrian order and the *plebs urbana*. The



NYMPH OF DIANA, FOUND IN THE GARDENS OF SALLUST.

privilege of furnishing a fourth decuria of judges, that of the *ducenarii*,¹ and the thousand posts of local inspectors which he reserved for them,² constituted them a distinct class. It seems probable that they were few in number, however, for they must have had a tendency to rise higher and obtain the gold ring, or else sink lower and share with the proletariat the monthly gratuities.

When Caesar took a census of those who were fed at the expense of the treasury, he found they numbered three hundred and twenty thousand.³ Of these he struck off one half, and for the remainder ordered that every year the prae-tor should replace deceased pensioners by lot from among the poor

¹ Possessing two hundred thousand sesterces. This fourth class of judges was organized in the year 17 B. C., and judged *de levioribus summis* (Suet., *Octav.* 32). They had the right to wear an iron ring (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 7), — a paltry distinction, indeed, but one which flattered, because it gave rank.

² There were two hundred and sixty-five quarters (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 9), and four or five inspectors for each quarter, chosen annually doubtless by the *curator regionis* from among the inhabitants (*e plebe cujusque viciniae electi*. Suet., *Octav.* 30). Augustus granted them the right of wearing on certain days the *praetexta*, and of having two *viatores* (Dion, lv. 8). In his will Tiberius left them a special legacy (Suet., *Tiber.* 76).

³ Dion, xliii. 21; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 41.

not yet inscribed on the list. The disorders which followed his death, together with the increase of want, raised the number to the original amount; and it was only in the second half of the reign of Augustus that it was lowered again to about two hundred thousand.¹ His colonies in Italy and the provinces facilitated this reduction; in order to render it lasting, he encouraged work, strove against the selfish fashion of setting slaves free, and bestowed very sparingly the rights of citizenship. Thus we see, then, that beneath the real Roman society there were two hundred thousand beggars,—a standing menace to the public peace. But being rid of its demagogue tribunes, and held in check by the emperor's praetorians, the *plebs urbana* confined itself to begging, and made no more disturbances.

Augustus had kept up the ancient republican offices,—in reality, less as functions in the state, with a power of their own, than as titles which served to classify men. In order that this classification might be a strict one, he revived the ancient precedents concerning the hierarchy of magistracies, and gave them new sanctions by the very exceptions which he made.² When he required a formal *senatus-consultum* granting his grandson a dispensation from the *lex annalis*, no man would be bold enough to dare to exempt himself from it. Everywhere and in everything his administration tended to multiply differences of social condition, both in the case of persons and of cities and countries. For instance, he divided Rome into fourteen districts, and these districts, by their administrations and by the prerogatives of their inhabitants,³ were placed above the suburban districts; and these in turn were more favored than the rest of Italy,⁴ which again was looked upon by provincials as a privileged land.

¹ In the year 2 B.C. Three years previously, the poor still numbered three hundred and twenty thousand (Dion, lv. 10).

² Tac., *Ann.* iii. 29. Numerous inscriptions give in the clearest manner the law of advancement in public offices (*cursus honorum*); for no person forgot to have the record of his services engraved on his tomb in the order in which his functions had succeeded each other. To exclude from high offices those who were not very rich, Augustus added to the obligations imposed by Sylla on the praetors that of giving the games which the aediles formerly celebrated. The consuls, and under Claudius the quaestors, were also compelled to furnish the people with games (Dion, lix. 14, lx. 27; Suet., *Claud.* 4; Tac., *Ann.* xi. 22).

³ It was necessary to reside at Rome in order to obtain an office; distributions were only made to the *plebs urbana*. Rome paid less dearly for salt than the rest of Italy (Livy, xxix. 37).

⁴ All the region within a hundred miles of Rome was placed under the jurisdiction of the

Even in the right of citizenship Augustus made differences. The new man did not hold the freedom of the city by the same title as the man who was born to it,¹ and the provincial honored with the toga was neither in right nor dignity the equal of the Roman. Before this time there had been several steps to mount in reaching the *jus civitatis*; Augustus added a new one,—no Egyptian could become a citizen of Rome without previously being a citizen of Alexandria.² Add to this the great and permanent distinction which he established between Quirités and soldiers, of whom he formed two separate peoples, that he might make use of the one to control the other.

Thus from the lowest ranks to the very top the classes were clearly defined; nor were they less so among the provincials, from the *dedititius* to the *civis*, and lower than this from servitude to freedom. There was the slave whom manumission before a magistrate made eligible for the citizenship; the slave who could only obtain the new Latin right created by the law *Junia-Norbana*; and lastly the one who was forbidden to come within a hundred miles of Rome, and whom Gaius places in the lowest stage of freedom.³ “Considering it of extreme importance,” says Suetonius, “to preserve the Roman people pure and untainted with a mixture of foreign or servile blood, he not only bestowed citizenship with a sparing hand, but laid some restriction upon the practice of manumitting slaves, interposing many obstacles, by quibbles

prefect of the city, and was exempt from the payment in kind imposed upon the rest of Italy (Godefroy, book ix.; *Cod. Theod. de Annona*, ii. 1; and Savigny, *Steurverf.* p. 22). Certain freedmen could not settle in the *suburbican* district (Suet., *Octav.* 40, and Gaius, *Inst.* i. 27: *Si contra fecerint ipsi bonaque eorum publice venire jubentur*). “He did not make Italy quite equal to Rome,” said Suetonius (*Octav.* 46). The *lex Papia Poppaea* furnished a new proof of this inequality. The *jus trium liberorum* was allowed in Rome to him who had three children; to obtain it in Italy it was necessary to have four, in the provinces, five. The prohibition contained in the *lex Julia de adulteriis*, forbidding the husband to alienate the *praedium dotale*, only applied to Italian property (*Inst.* II. viii., *prooem.*).

¹ With respect to wills, for instance. The foreigner who had not obtained the *jus cognationis* as well as the *jus civitatis* paid a tax of one twentieth even when he inherited from his father. This distinction was only abolished by Nerva and Trajan (Pliny, *Paneg.* 37).

² Pliny, *Epist.* x. 4, 5, 22.

³ *Pessima libertas* (*Inst.* i. 68). He could never become a Roman or Latin citizen. The law *Aelia Sentia*, passed in the year 4 B. C. (Dion, lv. 13), relegated him to the rank of the *peregrini dedititii* (Gaius, *Inst.* i. 13–15). The *Latini Juniani* (law of the year 19 B. C.) merely enjoyed liberty; accordingly, on their death they were considered as having never issued from slavery, and their old master resumed his rights over their property (Gaius, *ibid.*, and the *Inst.* i. 5, 3).

respecting the number, condition, and difference of those who were to be manumitted; and likewise enacted that none who had been put in chains or tortured should ever obtain the freedom of the city in any degree.”¹

It was in the theatre that the Roman people were best to be seen; there they were with their pontiffs, their vestals, and their Senate. Before the time of Augustus the greatest confusion reigned there; each man sat down wherever he could.² But the Emperor introduced order, — *ordinavit*; this is the leading idea of his whole reign. In the front row sat the magistrates; then the senators and their sons; behind these were the fourteen benches of the knights. The people were separated from the soldiers; the married plebeians from the unmarried. Women had a place set apart, and the ragged proletaries were relegated to the worst places.

Dress marked a man's rank; Augustus strictly maintained differences here. He forbade the Greek mantle, and drove out of the Forum those who had not the toga; for, as his poet-laureate said, “It is by the toga that the royal nation is recognized.” Horace is right in two senses: the togà was the sign of national sovereignty, and by its amplitude and the elegance of its folds it was one of the stateliest garments that man has ever worn, especially when the purple border contrasted with its pure whiteness. Seen on the cold figures which this nation has left us of itself, it contributes to maintain the fame of Roman gravity. But strip it off the shoulders of the crowd which encumbered the Rome of Augustus, and you find a vain society, in which each sought eagerly after some distinction, and set his pride upon obtaining something glittering, or at least something which ranked apart.

These tendencies became evident even in the penal law. The Twelve Tables awarded the same penalties for the same offences, whoever the guilty party might be, provided he were a citizen;³

¹ The law *Furia Caninia* (8 A. D.) limited the number of testamentary freedmen, and the law *Aelia Sentia* forbade a master of less than twenty years of age to liberate a slave, *praeterquam si causam apud consilium probaverit* (Ulp., i. 13).

² *Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque* (Suet., *Octav.* 44).

³ Livy still said: *Lex est surda, inexorabilis . . . nec causis nec personis variat.*

the new legislation separated the great from the small, those whom it called, even while it punished them, honorable men (*honesti*), from those of whom it spoke only with disdain, — men of no account (*humiles*); and it fixed two categories of punishments, the more rigorous for the poorer. It is not known at what period this insulting distinction was established; but it was the inevitable outcome of the state of society, whose laws and traditions acknowledged the higher origin of the patrician, the absolute power of the father of a family in his household, the unlimited authority of a master over his slaves, the strict rights of a patron over his freedmen, — to which, consequently, equality could never have been known. Such an organization of city and family left the poor man no place save in the clientship of the arrogant rich whom Martial calls kings; and Cicero and Sallust are only expressing the thoughts of these latter when they speak of “the starveling crowd, depraved in manners, inflated in hopes, and whose inmost thoughts are envy.” The ancient political law expelled the *aerarii* from the comitium and the army; the new one placed them in an inferior position judicially. Augustus determined the classes whose testimony should not be accepted in a court of justice,¹ and one of his jurisconsults, Labeo, declared that it was not lawful for a *humilis* to bear witness against an *honestior*. We have seen how the triumvirs began that legislation which decreed different punishments for the same offence, according to the social condition of the offender.² In the paintings of the little commonplace city of Pompeii many grotesque scenes occur, for the ancestors of Pulcinello who dwelt there loved a coarse kind of pleasantries; but not one representation of popular life is found, for they despised it.

The language, which had hitherto been severe in its sober elegance, became overloaded and turgid. The Oriental emphasis which for two centuries past had been spoiling the tongue of Demosthenes and Plato, soon began to act upon that of Cicero and Vergil. Common words no longer sufficed; the senators assumed or received the qualification of *clarissimus*;³ the members

¹ *Digest*, xxii. 5. 3. sec. 5.

² See my paper on the *Honestiores* and *Humiliores* in the collection of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, vol. xxix. part i.

³ *Most Eminent*. We find this title already used under Claudius (cf. Orelli, No. 3,115); it

of the equestrian order are the *illustres*, and their service in the army was called *splendida militia*. Soon, with the progress of servility, everything became "divine and sacred," even in the palace of the profligate Caesars. Some laughed at all this; Augustus even heard the favorite of Maecenas scoff at these classifications, which were made by fortune, not merit. But the Romans accepted them, and the use of exaggerated superlatives has passed to their descendants: from the Alps to the Channel of Malta the *Eccellenza* has long prevailed.

II. — MEANS EMPLOYED FOR INSURING ORDER AND COMFORT.

THIS people, outwardly so carefully classed, still required corn to feed it, games to amuse it, and an active police to keep watch in its stead against the Tiber and robbers, fire and plague, and all the ills to which its carelessness left it so greatly exposed.

Augustus took care not to leave these requirements unsupplied. He knew that he must furnish bread if he wished to secure order, — that one sole aim of his administration. Accordingly, his great business in Rome, after strengthening his power, was to guarantee the means of subsistence for the immense population which encumbered the city. He would willingly have avoided doing so, and have sent this inconvenient crowd out into the country. But the distributions

No. 1.



No. 2.

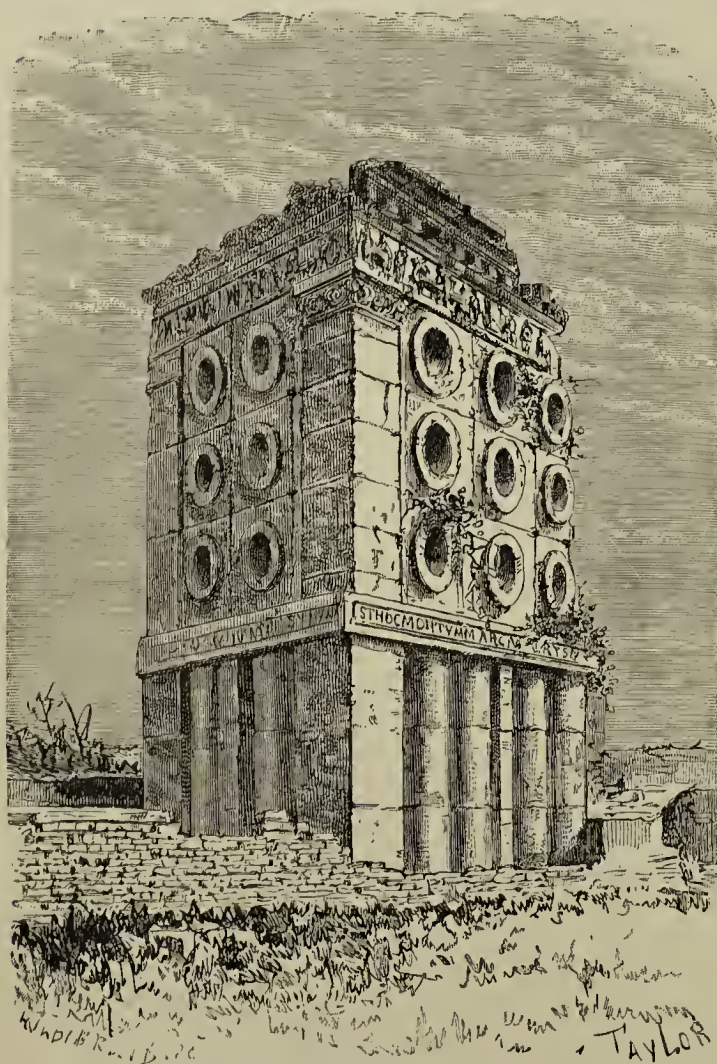
FRUMENTARY TESSERAE, OR CHECKS FOR BREAD.¹

was applied to the wives and children of senators (*Id.*, 3,764; Renier, *Inscr. d'Algér.*, 1825, 1827, etc.).

¹ From two specimens found in the excavations. No. 1, a tessera of older pattern, a tablet upon which is stamped the number of measures to be received; No. 2, a tessera of more recent date, a hollow ball with the quantity obtained written upon it. Upon the *frumentationes*, see Vol. II. p. 425.

were a legacy of the Republic; and we have seen that an idea of right attached to them which the Gracchi and even Cato had

recognized, and Caesar respected. Augustus made the *frumentationes* an imperial institution under the direction of the *præfectus annonæ*, who was the judge in all cases, civil or criminal, relating to trade in grain. At first all, rich and poor alike, had been admitted to the enjoyment of an advantage won by all; later, the senators and knights had been excluded. Augustus drew up the frumentary law settling the quantity of wheat to be supplied by the provinces for the consumption of the palace, the soldiers and



TOMB OF THE BAKER EURYSACES.¹

the citizens dwelling in Rome (*annona militaris* and *annona civica*); on the other hand he determined the number of individuals receiving it, — two hundred thousand out of a population doubtless exceeding one million five hundred thousand souls.² The *annona* was at this time only a relief granted to necessitous persons and all those who, without being actually destitute, were not in comfortable

¹ Tomb of the baker Eurysaces (found in 1838 during the demolition of a tower in Rome), with an inscription which seems to belong to the time of Augustus. The tomb is made of old kneading-troughs (Orelli, No. 7,267, and *Annales de l'Inst. archeol.*, 1838, p. 231).

² In the year 5 of our era a gratuity of sixty denarii each was given to three hundred and twenty thousand men of the plebs. Many plebeians, then, were not included in the usual distributions.

circumstances. The quantity of wheat given, — a bushel and a half a month, that is to say, scarcely the ration assigned to a slave or a prisoner, — was not sufficient to support a family.¹ As this assistance did not free those who received it from the necessity of seeking other means of support, it cannot be said that, thanks to the *annona*, a whole people were maintained in a condition of idleness.

This wheat cost the state nothing, since it was furnished by the frumentary provinces, which were obliged to forward the grain to the ports of embarkation. Thence the vessels of the maritime cities transported it to Rome,² so that the treasury had nothing to pay but the cost of storage and keeping in the granaries of the city. But if we consider that taxation in kind was in the case of the frumentary provinces a reduction from their tax in money,³ which otherwise would have been increased by the sum represented by the wheat furnished, we must admit that these distributions caused the state an annual expenditure equal to eight dollars and a half for each person, or over a million and a half dollars in all.⁴ With every reason we do the same thing under better forms and in larger proportions. At Paris in 1876 the *bureaux de bienfaisance* succored one hundred and fourteen thousand persons, who received on an average 51 francs 11 centimes each; and one hundred and eighty thousand other citizens, — or a number almost equal to that of the persons inscribed on the list of the *annona*, — earning less than four hundred francs, were exempted from the payment of the

¹ The modius being equivalent to 1 gallon (7.36 pints), 5 modii = 1 bushel, 1 gallon, 4.8 pints, which gave about 92 lbs. of bread. Owing to the imperfections of the processes of grinding and bread-making, the wheat scarcely yielded its weight in bread (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 120), whereas with us 100 lbs. of flour give at least 130 lbs. of bread. Now with 92 lbs. of bread a family could not be supported; and Dion is right in saying (lv. 26): 'Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ σφισιν ἐξήρκεσεν.'

² Cic., *Verr.* iii. 14. Thus the Jews were obliged to carry to Sidon the fourth part of the crops (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 109, 6; Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 51).

³ The value of the wheat delivered by Egypt was about twenty-five hundred talents.

⁴ According to the Verrine Orations (iii. 75) the modius, which in commerce was worth one denarius (Dureau de la Malle, *Écon. polit.* i. 108), only cost the state three sesterces. As each person on the lists received sixty every year, the annual expense was a hundred and eighty sesterces, or not quite nine dollars for each recipient; one sesterce — a hundredth of the aureus — being a little less than five cents (Levasseur, *De la valeur des monnaies romaines*, pp. 28 and 29), which makes the total expenditure something less than two million dollars. It would be nearly two millions and a half if, allowing for the cost of warehousing, we accept the trade price for the state corn four sesterces instead of three.

personal dues and those on movable property, which the city paid for them, without the character of the individuals being taken into consideration at Paris any more than at Rome. Official assistance

costs thrice as much in the capital of France as it cost in the capital of the Empire;¹ but what now bears the good name of charity was called corruption in ancient Rome.

In times of famine Augustus doubled the ration, — often, indeed, he surprised the people with unexpected donations. In his eleventh consulship he twelve times gave them wheat bought at his own expense; and at each important event of his life he made distributions of money, which sometimes amounted to as much as four hundred sesterces a head, — in all, a sum equal to about twenty-seven million dollars. His edicts had forbidden candidates to scatter money among the tribes;² from this it was concluded that he had reserved to



AUGUSTUS, CROWNED WITH WHEAT.³

himself the right of buying up the whole Roman people. In that case, it must be admitted that the people did not value themselves at a very high price, — a little more than two dollars each per annum.⁴

¹ In 1873 the *Assistance publique* in Paris expended 12,420,000 francs out of its own revenues, and it received from the city a subvention of 14,474,977 francs. The city also paid the treasury 4,520,370 francs in redemption of the 180,000 dues on persons and movables.

² Dion, liv. 13-17. The penalty incurred by such canvassing was exclusion from all magistracies for five years.

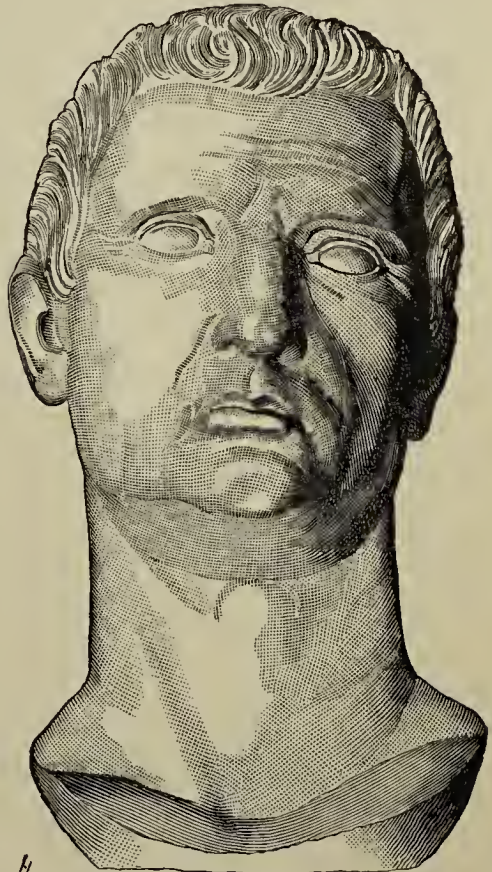
³ As a member of the college of *Fratres Arvales*, and in memory of his care in securing the means of subsistence to the people (Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, Hall of Busts, No. 281).

⁴ According to the *Monum. Ancyrr.* (No. 15) he distributed among the inhabitants of

One day, after a gladiatorial display, they granted to him who had given it the privilege of appointing at his own single will one of the praetors every year.¹ This was even more than Esau's birth-right, sold for a mess of pottage.

What declamations would be spared if men were better acquainted with the state of ancient society, wherein these liberalities, which were of common occurrence, were an honor to those who bestowed and those who received! In former times the patron had been under obligations to secure his client a piece of ground; now he secured him a piece of bread, the *sportula*. Every morning the poor man came to the door of a noble or wealthy house and held out his provision-basket and his hand; into the one the distributing slave disdainfully dropped the remnants of the feast, and into the other some small coin. Augustus, having become the universal patron, owed the Roman people the *sportula*, and gave it.

In this society the rich had also the duty of amusing the poor; the nobles had never failed to do so, and Augustus followed their example. The spectacles were of two kinds,—the *ludi*, or scenic representations and races in the circus, which recurred on fixed days; and the *munera*, or combats either of gladiators or wild beasts. He regulated the cost and number of those given by magistrates and private individuals, but he himself gave many. "I have made ten thousand gladiators fight in the arena," he says in the



M. V. AGRIPPA.²

Rome in ready money 375,000,000 sesterces and 31,200,000 denarii, or 500,000,000 sesterces, which make a sum of twenty-five million dollars. The average number of recipients was about two hundred and fifty thousand, which makes a sum of about a hundred dollars received by each citizen in forty-four years, or a little over two dollars a year.

¹ Dion, li. 23.

² From the Capitol, Hall of Philosophers, No. 16.

Testament of Ancyra, "and I have caused three thousand five hundred wild beasts to be hunted there." In a single one of these hunts two hundred and sixty lions were killed. On another occasion he caused a broad canal to be dug along the Tiber; and thirty galleys of three or four banks of oars, with a greater number of small vessels, divided into two fleets and manned by three thousand men, not counting the sailors, furnished the multitude with the representation of a naval combat.

Treating the people like a child whom it was necessary at any price to divert, he had curiosities sent from all parts of the Empire, — a rhinoceros, a snake fifty cubits long, or a monstrous tiger. Thirty-six crocodiles came from Egypt at once, and he made the Flaminian circus into a lake for them. "Even when it was not a festival day," says his biographer, "if anything reached him which had not yet been seen at Rome, he caused it to be at once exhibited in all parts of the city." During Agrippa's aedileship, in the year 38, the games had lasted two whole months;¹ and Varro exclaims: "At Rome life is but a surfeit of pleasures every day."²

The people did not relish any contempt of their pleasures; they would have their leaders take part in the public amusements. Caesar had nearly lost his popularity through occupying himself with business during the performance. Augustus carefully avoided committing the like error. He remained whole days at the games. If any public necessity obliged him to absent himself, he asked permission,³ and appointed some person to take his place.

He protected actors, deprived the magistrates of the right of causing them to be beaten with rods, and interested himself in the quarrels of the mimes. "It is for your interest, Caesar," said Pylades to him, "that the people should occupy themselves with Bathyllus and me."⁴ Augustus did not need the advice of the mime to make him leave the Roman people those circus passions and that liberty in theatrical matters which alone it never lost;

¹ Fifty-nine days, — probably taken from the whole year (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 7).

² *De re rust.* iii. 2.

³ *Petita venia* (Suet., *Octav.* 45).

⁴ Dion, liv. 17; Macrob., *Saturn.* ii. 7; Tac., *Ann.* i. 77.

rather he stimulated them. "He honored with his patronage," says Suetonius, "all sorts of people who contributed in any way to the success of the public entertainments. He not only maintained, but enlarged, the privileges of the wrestlers. He deprived the magistrates of the power of correcting play-actors, which by an ancient law was allowed them at all times and in all places, restricting their jurisdiction entirely to the times of performance and to misdemeanors in the theatres."¹

In still another way he paid his court to the multitude. These men of the South were all artists and poets. Lacking the necessities of life, they demanded *fêtes*; and if their city was beautiful, they never noticed that their hovels were filthy. In fact these hovels were not their dwellings. In that delicious climate, where the days are so fair and the nights so soft, they lived in the open air; and the porticos, temples, triumphal arches, and statues were really theirs, since they ceaselessly enjoyed them. Augustus promoted this taste also. Caesar had set him the example, and he continued the latter's great works. For himself, he built upon the Palatine a dwelling which was the beginning of that series of palaces with which the Emperors covered the Royal Hill;² and since the Republic still existed, or at least was said to exist, he required his friends and the chief senators to follow the republican customs, and help with their fortunes in decorating the city.³ The Campus Martius, round which most of these buildings were grouped, formed a new city, consisting not of houses, but entirely made up of temples, theatres, and porticos.

Agrippa, as skilful in these labors of peace as in those of war, built, says Suetonius, a countless number of beautiful edifices. One of them, the Pantheon (Santa Maria Rotonda), still exists, and bears on its front these words: *M. Agrippa L. F. cos. tertium fecit*. It was not, as has been thought from the name afterwards

¹ Tac., *Ann.* i. 45.

² I avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to the able director of the excavations on the Palatine, Senator Pietro Rosa, who has done so much for archæology by his discoveries, and who intends to restore to us the whole of Augustus's house, a portion of which is still under the gardens of the Villa Mills. A very pleasant visit may be paid to the Palatine with M. Boissier's *Promenades archéologiques* (pp. 51-110) for a guide.

³ *Principes viros sæpe hortatus est, ut . . . monumentis . . . urbem adornarent* (Suet., *Octav.* 29). A temple built by a private individual had to be kept up by his posterity. (See chap. lxx. sec. 2.)

bestowed upon it, consecrated to all the deities of Olympus. In the interior, facing the entrance, stood no doubt the statue of Jupiter Ultor, who had exacted from all Caesar's murderers the expiation of their crime. To the right and left of the God of Vengeance were the deities and heroes of the predestined race, — Mars and Venus, Aeneas and Iulus, Romulus, the founder of patrician Rome, and Caesar, the founder of imperial Rome. Augustus refused to take his seat among the immortals, and discreetly placed his statue outside, near the door; and on the other side he caused to be placed that of Agrippa.

Inclined by his practical genius towards useful enterprises, Agrippa during his aedileship brought into Rome the *Aqua Virgo*, a spring said to have been discovered and pointed out to the thirsty Roman soldiers by a young maiden. To this very day, after the lapse of eighteen hundred years, it still supplies half of Rome with clear fresh water (the fountain of Trevi). "He built the *Diribitorium*, the largest edifice that was ever covered with a roof;¹ he repaired the ancient canals, established seven hundred drinking troughs, a hundred and five playing fountains, a hundred and thirty reservoirs, a hundred and seventy free baths; and upon these constructions he placed three hundred statues and four hundred marble columns. All of which he did in one year."² At his death he bequeathed to the Emperor two hundred and forty slave engineers whom he had trained, who were afterwards presented by Augustus to the state for the completion and maintenance of the works of his great minister.

Augustus also boasted of having "repaired the aqueducts, which were falling into ruins, and doubled the volume of the *Aqua Marcia* by leading a new spring into the conduit which carried it to Rome." By widening and deepening the bed of the Tiber, which had long been obstructed and narrowed by ruined buildings, he restrained the river for some time from periodically devastating the lower quarters of the city.³ He attached, and justly, so much importance to putting an end to the disastrous

¹ This edifice was used for the inspection of votes, the payment of troops, and the distribution of gratuities among the people (Dion, lv. 8; Suet., *Claud.* 18; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 40).

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24, sec. 9.

³ Suet., *Octav.* 30, and De Rossi, *Piante di Roma*, p. 30.

inundations of the river that he instituted a special commission of *curatores alvei et riparum Tiberis et cloacarum urbis*.

To secure Rome against disorder and fire, he divided the city into fourteen districts, and each district into quarters. The surveillance of the districts was intrusted to annual magistrates, under the superior authority of the city prefect;¹ that of the quarters to inspectors chosen from among the inhabitants themselves (*vicomagistri*).

Seven cohorts of night watchmen, subdivided into seven posts, one for every two districts, under the command of a prefect of the equestrian order, were charged with the duty of preventing and extinguishing fires.² These *vigiles*, all freedmen,³ could obtain after three years' service the *tessera frumentaria*, and with it the full citizenship. The maintenance of order during the day was looked after by the three urban cohorts, in case of need assisted by the praetorians. When Augustus gave games in the Campus Martius, and all the people flocked thither, he caused the deserted city to be guarded by soldiers, lest robbers should plunder the empty houses of the inhabitants, — a precaution which speaks volumes as to the state to which society had been brought by twenty years of civil war.

The true remedy against want is the labor of the poor, not the alms of the wealthy. But on this subject there existed many prejudices and inveterate habits. Ancient Rome had known only one method of enriching herself, — war; since new Rome wished to keep the temple of Janus shut, she must seek some other means of escaping want. The Emperors of the later ages thought they had discovered it in the organization of labor into hereditary corporations. Augustus was more clear-sighted; he contented himself with encouraging it. Many branches of industry which had not fallen entirely into the hands of the slaves, and the multiplied

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 30.

² The *praefectus vigilum* exercised criminal jurisdiction over incendiaries and robbers. Grave cases were reserved for the prefect of the city.

³ In the year 23 he had given six hundred slaves to the curule aediles for service in cases of fire (Dion, liv. 2); in A. D. 5 he organized the corps of *vigiles*, who were at first drawn from the classes of servile origin. Later they were taken from other classes (Dion, liv. 26). Each of these night-guards carried a bell with which to summon his comrades in case of need (*Id.* liv. 4). All the cities followed the example of Rome, and had public slaves to maintain order, attend to the roads, and discharge the lower offices of the administration.

needs of a great city, attracted the common people to seek from labor the gains which might help out the insufficiency of the distributions. The buildings by which the face of the city was changed, furnished occupation to the proletaries, and the Emperor's efforts to bring up agriculture restored a little life here and there in the country districts. Lastly, the immense commerce carried on between Rome and the rest of the world induced a return to legitimate industry on the part of many who had long lived by fraud and mendicancy. And Augustus so managed the distributions of corn "that as much account was taken of husbandmen and traders," says Suetonius, "as of the idle populace."¹ We may add that the Emperor had a vague conception of the modern idea of credit when he lent capital without interest to any man who could give security for double the amount.²

Another means of furnishing hands for traffic and agriculture was the diminution of enforced leisure; he suppressed thirty holidays.³

We know how much Augustus was aided in this task by Vergil, who repeats in the most perfect of his poems the words put into the mouth of Octavius in the First Eclogue, —

Pascite, ut ante, boves, pueri; submittite tauros.

His Georgics are a magnificent eulogium upon agricultural labor. Horace, too, celebrates the fruitfulness which again reigned in the country; and to second the Emperor in this work, Varro, at the age of eighty, wrote his Precepts of Agriculture.

¹ Suetonius, *Octav.* 42.

² *Ibid.* 41.

³ *Ibid.* 32. He suppressed only honorary festivals, — that is, those instituted by private individuals; during the others it was forbidden to work. When the king of the sacrifices and the flamens went out on that day they were preceded by heralds, who enjoined the people not to violate the sanctity of the day by doing any work with their hands. Any man disobeying was punished by a fine (Fest., s. v. *Praecia*, and Maerob., *Saturn.* i. 16). Columella (iii. 12, 9) reckons forty-five days of festival or of rain *quibus non aratur*; and Tertullian (*De Idol.* 14) says that among the pagans the feast-days did not reach the number of the fifty days of rejoicing among the Christians.

III. — RELIGIOUS REFORM.

As Roman society grew calmer, Augustus tried to render it nobler; and in order to employ, after so many agitations, all the conservative elements, he became a teacher of morals and religion. He ordered collections of sentences from the old authors to be made, and sent them to the provincial magistrates. In the Senate were read by his orders discourses which had been delivered in the times of the ancient severity of manners,¹ or else new harangues upon pure morality; and he forbade the judges to enter any man's house during their year of office. But these were petty measures which did no good.² Nevertheless, he boasted in his Testament of having revived ancient manners. "By new laws," said he, "I have again brought into honor the long-forgotten examples of our ancestors, and by my edicts I have set forth for the imitation of all men our fathers' virtues."

The reformer of morals desired to be a religious reformer also, and to strengthen among the people the beliefs which he himself did not hold. Faith in the great gods of the nobles, artists, and poets was passing away, but it still clung to the gods of the lower classes; and with its legends, its unclean train of impostors from Eastern lands, where religious charlatans, half deceived, half deceivers, ever swarm, Roman paganism still remained a power. Vainly does Livy assert that even the people no longer believe in the signs sent by the gods,³ and Propertius that the spider covers the temples with its web, and that weeds hide the neglected gods;⁴ men still visited the altars, and occupied themselves with omens especially. The pretended revelations of auspices and prodigies, of oracles and stars, well suited these men, whom an unwholesome curiosity urged to ask what should be in the future the will of the gods, instead of by their own energy constraining that future

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 89.

² We have seen (p. 114) that he also defined the categories of men whose evidence should not be accepted in a court of justice; that was of more use.

³ *Nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credunt* (xliii. 13).

⁴ ii. 6. Cf. Saint Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, vii. 9.

to second designs prudently prepared and bravely carried out. Moreover religion only, since there was as yet no science, accounted for natural phenomena; it alone obscurely answered the questions which man is ever asking about his destiny; and the greatest sceptic in the midst of his pleasures felt its influence as soon as danger appeared. Did not Horace institute an annual sacrifice in gratitude to the gods who had preserved him from the fall of a "cursed tree?" Thus, spiritualized by some, appearing coarse to others, but mixed up with their whole existence, the pagan religion continued to exist.

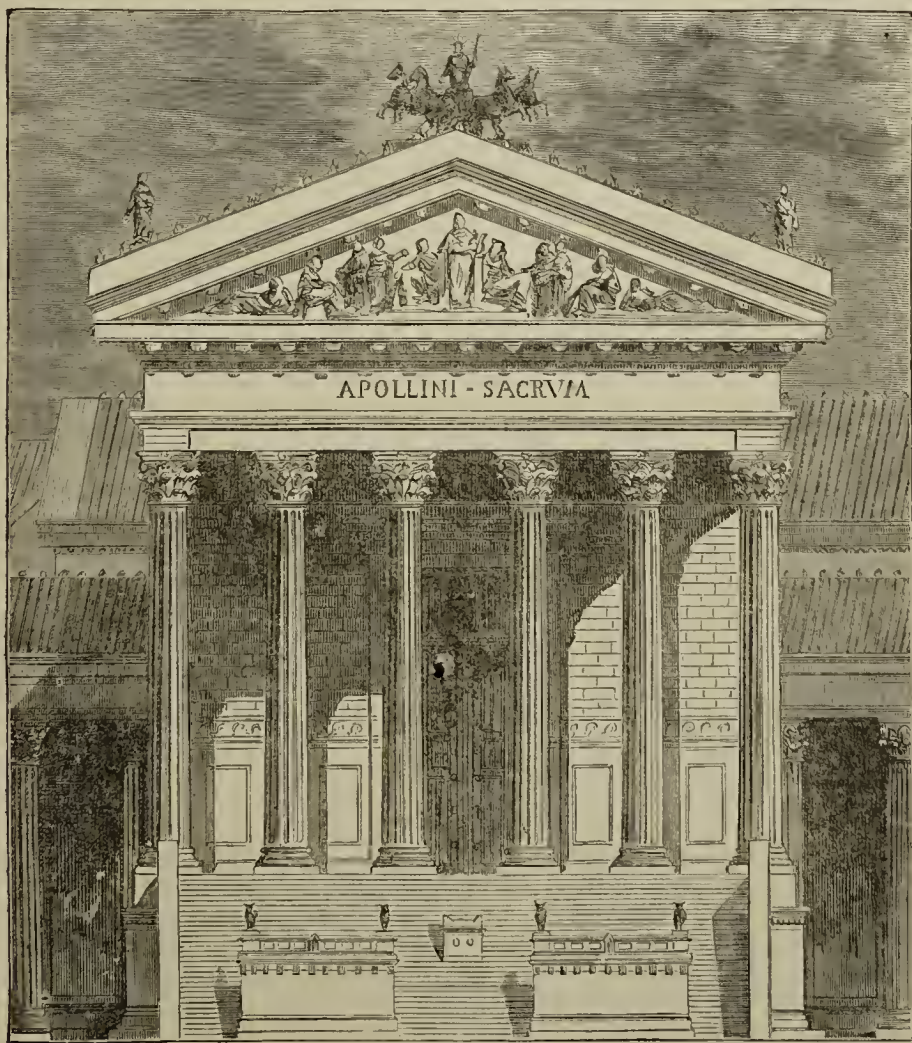
This people had moreover allowed themselves to be fettered by numberless rites to a form of worship made up of ceremonies, and surrounded their gods with that pompous devotion which the Romans of all ages have loved. The magistrates encouraged it through policy, the learned from curiosity, philosophers in contempt for the vulgar, and the juriconsults that they might find therein a sanction for their laws. Caesar, who denied a future life, wrote a book upon auspices; Varro, who believed only in the soul of the world, nevertheless relates in a great work all the stories of Olympus; and Cicero, so devout in his orations, in his books scoffs at the gods and their presages, and even at the famous lots of Praeneste. "What magistrate," says he, "what man of sense resorts to them?"

In the eyes of these great men religion was a useful thing, but not a necessary one; for they thought, like Socrates, that there was very little connection between religion and morals, and even, with Aristotle, that these two ideas were absolutely separate.

Augustus protected religion as expedient. Even before assuming the high pontificate, in 18 B. C., he purified its sources by making a selection from the oracles current among the public. More than two thousand volumes of predictions in Greek and Latin were burned. The Sibylline Books, the only gospel known to the Romans, were submitted to a strict revision, and then enclosed in two golden caskets, which were placed beneath the statue of Apollo Palatinus. The practice of co-optation introducing into the sacerdotal colleges priests whose life jarred with their office, it was replaced by imperial appointment.¹ Augustus reconstituted

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iii. 19; *Hist.* i. 77; Pliny, *Epist.* x. 8. We have seen above that the Emperor was a member of the four great sacerdotal colleges. He also caused himself to be enrolled in the colleges of the Titian priests and the Fetiales.

the college of the *Fratres Arvales*, and made himself head of it, as he already was of the other religious corporations. Lastly, he re-established many ancient ceremonies; and that nothing might stand in the way of a return to the past, he rejected all novelties, and forbade men to look into the future.



TEMPLE OF APOLLO PALATINUS.¹

The magicians, several times expelled from Rome under the Republic, had again entered it, and were thriving there,—as is the case with every profession which speculates upon human vice and folly. Augustus forbade them, on pain of death, to predict future events,—these predictions not being usually favorable to the policy of the time being; and he prohibited within the *pomoerium*

¹ As restored by Clerget (*École des Beaux-Arts*).

the Egyptian worship and the Jewish ceremonies,—two religions over which he had no hold.

He assumed the title of founder, or restorer, of temples,¹ made all men who approached him praise the gods, and even enlisted in this crusade Ovid, who, while writing the *Fasti* to celebrate the ancient worship, records his surprise at having come to this, after his success as the poet of Love.² Finally Augustus restored



TEMPLE OF MARS THE AVENGER, AND FORUM OF AUGUSTUS AT ROME.³

ancient ceremonies, with restrictions originally needless in a society naturally chaste, but now most necessary among a corrupt people. He restored the ancient temples, and erected others to the beneficent and pacific gods,—to Ceres, to Concord, to Fortune the Restorer and

¹ See in chap. lxi., *ad finem*, the enumeration he made of the temples rebuilt by him (*Monument d'Ancyre*, sec. xix.).

² *Fast.* ii. 8:—

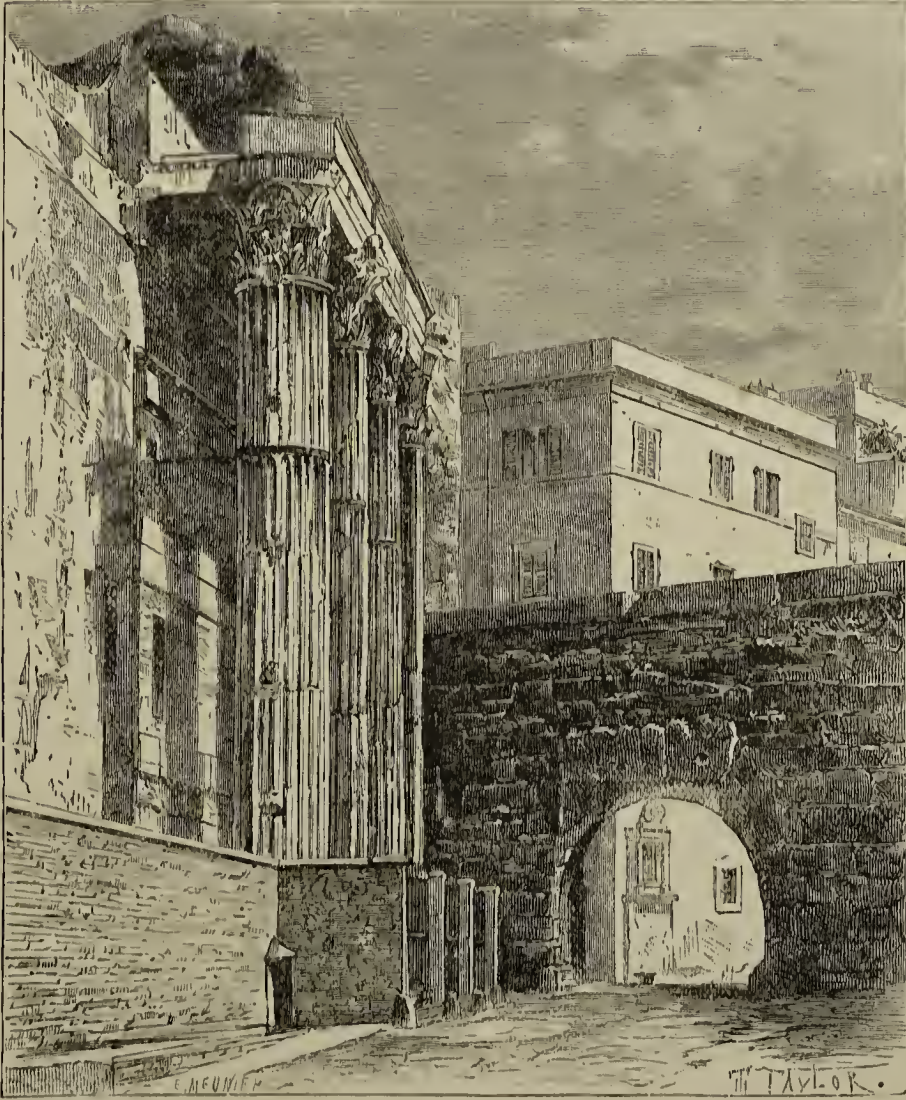
... *sacra cano* . . .

Ecquis ad haec illinc crederet esse viam?

Haec mea militia est.

³ Restored by Uchard (*École des Beaux-Arts*).

the Saving Fortune, to Jupiter Liberator, who had delivered Rome from anarchy, and to Peace, that long-neglected goddess, who received from him two altars, upon condition of converting the whole world to her worship. Mars, now the guardian of oaths, was no longer to fight except for the punishment of perjurers: he



PERISTYLE OF THE TEMPLE OF MARS THE AVENGER (PRESENT STATE).

was Mars the Avenger.¹ By this transformation of the homicidal god Augustus wished to have it believed that war, henceforth tolerated only as a necessity, would be no longer an appeal to force, but to the justice of Heaven. He also believed, or was anxious to make others believe, that Apollo had protected him on the

¹ The temple, erected in the centre of the Forum of Augustus, was specially consecrated to the vengeance of Caesar. Another, built upon the Capitol, and shown upon medals as round in form, received the recovered standards of Crassus.

great day of Actium; he built a splendid temple to him upon the Palatine, with gates of carved ivory, on which the god was shown avenging himself on his foes.¹ An idea of a totally opposite nature secured a temple for Jupiter the Thunderer, whose bolt had one day struck beside the Emperor's litter and killed a slave.

Among the ancient gods those who were the guardians of the state and the family, Vesta and the Lares, were the most honored, especially the latter, familiar and simple deities, dear to the lower people, whose whole religion they constituted. Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana were gods too great, suitable only for senators, and reserved for those who ascended to the Capitol. The poor people, who never left their quarters, required those gods of the street-corner and the hearth, the small coin of divinity, beings less imposing and more easy of access, such as the people always make for themselves. Every day the head of the household, surrounded by his children and by his slaves, offered his morning prayer before the Lares; he invoked them again before sitting down to his frugal table; and in the middle of the meal, amid religious silence, he threw a little bread and salt upon the hearth. This was the communion with the propitious gods.²

Augustus replaced (8 B. C.) the images of the Lares at the crossways (*compita*), and desired that twice a year, in spring and summer, on the feast of the Compitalia, the inhabitants of the neighborhood should assemble and deck them with flowers.

¹ There remains of this temple only the description given by Propertius (ii. 31). On its ivory gates were represented the Gauls hurled from Parnassus by the servitors of the god, and the children of Niobe falling beneath arrows. A library was annexed to the temple.

² The Lares were the souls of the dead, who, previous to the Twelve Tables, were buried in the house (Serv., *Ad Aen.* vi. 152); hence the domestic worship paid to them. Their image was frequently associated with that of the Penates, who in these latter times were represented dancing, and holding in one hand the drinking-horn (*phryton*), in the other the food-dish, in token of the abundance and joy they maintained in the house. (See Vol. I. p. 207.) In their origin the Penates and Lares differed. The former were only the guardians of the *penus*; that is, of the provisions kept in reserve in the *cella penaria*. This *cella*, which none could enter except after purification, *castus* (Colum., *De re rust.* xii. 4), was the temple of the Penates; for their altar they had the hearth, upon which a fire was kept always burning in their honor. There was only one family Lar in each house: the name of the Penates, on the other hand, is always in the plural. (See Vol. I. p. 149, two Penates on a coin.) In the time of Augustus they were no longer distinguished from one another (Marquardt, *Handbuch*, iii. 122, note 4), just as the Genii were no longer distinguished from the Lares (Censor., *De Die Nat.* 3, from a book by Granius Flaccus, addressed to Caesar).

To insure the perpetuity of this worship, he organized a priesthood for it. The two hundred and sixty-five *vici* of Rome had each four priests, elected annually by the people of the neighborhood. Standing beneath pontifical colleges of the old aristocratic religion, this was a new clergy, wholly plebeian in character, set apart for the popular religion. The household Lar was the ancestor of the family, or the member who had brought it most honor. We shall presently see by what chain of ideas the Emperor became the Lar *par excellence*, and took his place with the others, on the hearth of each house as well as at the altars of the *compita*.¹ "A thousand Lares does our city contain," says Ovid,² "and the Genius of the chief who confides them to our care; and to three deities do the streets pay homage."

THE GENIUS OF AUGUSTUS.³

¹ A senatus-consultum made this worship obligatory. (See Vol. IV. chap. lxvii. sec. 3.)

² *Fasti*, v. 128 *sqq.* These deities, whom Ovid saw at Rome associated with the worship of the Genius of Augustus, were the two Lares who protected two streets crossing one another. This worship of the Lares of the crossways was very ancient; but it had been served by *collegia compitalicia*, very ill composed, according to Cicero, *ex omni facie urbis ac servitio conatata*, which, having on more than one occasion been the instruments of disorder, had been suppressed by the Senate in 64. Clodius had re-established them; six years later Caesar again abolished them. Augustus re-organized them in such a way as to leave nothing to be feared from them.

³ Statue in the Vatican (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 2).

This association won for the modest divinities of the crossways the imperial title *Laribus Augustis*, and for the officiating priests, whose duty it was to watch over the little building, offer sacrifices, and celebrate games there, the appellation of *Augustales*.

"He increased," says Suetonius, "the number, dignity, and revenues of the priests, and especially of the Vestal Virgins. And when, upon the death of one of them, a new one was to be chosen, and many persons made interest that their daughters' names might be omitted in the lists for election, he replied with an oath, 'If either of my own granddaughters had been old enough, I would have proposed her myself!'"¹

There is another worship, that of national souvenirs. In order to rekindle dying patriotism, Augustus fearlessly accepted them all. "Next to the immortal gods, he paid the highest honors to the memory of those generals who had raised the Roman state from its low origin to the highest pitch of grandeur. He accordingly repaired or rebuilt the public edifices erected by them, preserving the former inscriptions, and placing statues of them all, with triumphal emblems, in both the porticos of his Forum, issuing an edict on the occasion, in which he made the following declaration: 'My design in so doing is that the Roman people may require from me and all succeeding rulers a conformity to those illustrious examples.' He likewise removed a statue of Pompey from the senate-house, in which Caius Caesar had been killed, and placed it under a marble arch² fronting the palace attached to Pompey's theatre." These illustrious dead formed a guard of honor for him; and it seemed as though all the republican glories naturally gathered round the imperial glory and were merged in it. We cannot say that he overthrew the statues of Brutus or that he erected those of Cicero; but it is certain that he always respected the memory of the one and the genius of the other.

His former foes and their sons met with a kind reception from him. He gave the consulship and his niece's hand to a son of Antony, and he begged Piso, one of the most violent enemies

¹ In A. D. 5 he was obliged to order that the daughters of freedmen should be received among the Vestals (Suet., *Octav.* 31). Under Tiberius (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 16) the Empress's place at the theatre was on the bench of the Vestals.

² Under this portico he had also placed the *tituli provinciarum*, which led to the idea of making statues of captive provinces; we have already given some.

of Caesar and the triumvirs, to accept the consulship.¹ On one occasion he even defended Cato against some too officious courtiers. "Know," said he, "that he who opposes revolutions in the state is an honest man and a good citizen."² There is more policy than magnanimity in these words. In changing his position, the ally of Antony had changed his point of view, while still watching his own interests; and if, by his praise of the stern old conservative, the revolutionary leader who had now become an emperor condemned the triumvirate of Octavius, it was for the advantage of the imperial power of Augustus that he did it.

But the masses cared little about the secret motives of a policy which pleased them; they applauded this public homage rendered to the gods and heroes of the Eternal City, and they listened with complaisant curiosity to the men of genius who seconded the ruler's efforts and employed all the charms of eloquence and poetry to induce the Romans through patriotic pride to imitate their ancestors. Livy relating in his stately language their glorious history, and Vergil showing the powers of sky and earth gathered round their cradle, were like pontiffs of the past seated on the ruins of the old temple, to summon the people thither still for the accomplishment of pious rites and the worship of ancient virtues.

Have we the right to say that these lessons were useless, and that the admiration for these great writers produced no result? Men loved letters too much not to be influenced by those who were masters in language. Since the Forum had lost its agitations and the Senate its liberty, mental activity had turned towards the worship of the Muses. As there were no longer any orators to hear, they listened to the poets. All men wrote, even Pollio, even Augustus himself, who composed tragedies, but, with more wisdom than Richelieu, abstained from having them played. The book-sellers could not supply the demand: recitations or public readings increased, and the Emperor did not disdain to be present at them.³ Libraries were opened; Asinius Pollio founded the first of these in

¹ *Piso . . . petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere* (Tac., *Ann.* ii. 43). As for Julius Antonius, he became one of Julia's lovers, and when she was exiled, he killed himself to avoid punishment.

² Macrob., *Sat.* II. iv. 18.

³ Suet., *Octav.* 29 and 89.

a building to which he gave the grand name of *Atrium Libertatis*, — the sanctuary of moral liberty, — and in which he placed the busts of great men beside their works, “that their images might be found in the place where their immortal souls still seemed to speak.”¹ Augustus opened another library in the temple of Apollo, built beside his house, and with a liberality of spirit which does him honor, admitted the poems of Catullus and Bibaculus into it, notwithstanding their satirical verses against the family of the Caesars. It was very necessary, indeed, to allow reading, since the new institutions no longer allowed speaking. Octavia founded a third in memory of her son.

Morality can no more be created by splendid poetry than by police regulations; there are, however, virtues which belong with a certain dress and a certain rank, and it is no inconsiderable thing to compel the observation of social propriety. Respect for one’s self and for others, if not virtue, is at least a first step towards it. Augustus would not suffer the scandalous spectacle of senators fighting in the arena. He forbade them and their sons to wed the daughters of freedmen or of play-actors, and all citizens were prohibited from contracting marriages with women of loose character.² He compelled the knights to maintain the dignity of the *angusticlave*, and would not allow them to go upon the stage. By diligently pursuing military exercises in the Campus Martius, a man gained his favor; and on the other hand he inflicted disgrace on those who were too usurious. The whole people was more than once reprimanded by him; and in the hope that he should thus keep the race purer, he set a limit to the number of manumissions,³ and decreed that a slave who had been condemned to torture should be thenceforth ineligible for citizenship.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 2.

² Ulp., *Regul. lib.*, tit. i. and ii., *e lege Julia*. Yet this same law did away with the old prohibition forbidding marriages between people free by birth and by manumission (*Ibid.*, and *Digest*, xxiii. 2, 22, and 44).

³ Not more than one hundred slaves at once could be set free by will. It was forbidden to compel the freedman to swear to remain single, that his property might revert after his death to his former patron, — a prospect which induced many masters to set their slaves free (Dion, xlvii. 14; the laws *Furia Caninia* and *Aelia Sentia de manumissionibus*, 8 and 9 A. D.).

⁴ Suetonius (*Octav.* 40): *parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit*. Dion would even lead us to think (lii. 18) that he withdrew the right formerly conceded.

He would fain have returned to those palmy days of the Republic when it was the rich man's duty to aid the poor with his word and his knowledge at the tribunal of the praetor. He forbade judges to pay visits, and advocates to receive anything from their clients, under pain of restoring fourfold.¹ In this Labeo was undoubtedly of the same opinion as Augustus, but neither of them succeeded.

Women did not possess in Rome the influence which has been accorded them in modern times.² Usually they lived in seclusion, remote from the society of men and from those pathetic occupations which have been given them by Christianity, — almsgiving, charity, the care of children, and the consolation of the afflicted. Thus those who dared to leave the protecting shadow of the gynaeceum, finding no beaten track, no place for them in the broad daylight, stumbled and fell at the very first step. And the number of these was great, for the chastity like the poverty of early days was lost. Augustus, who had an interest in throwing a veil over Roman corruption, did not overlook this side in his reforms. He desired that the women of the imperial household should set the example of a modest and industrious life. He long wore only stuffs spun by his wife, his sister, and his daughter. He punished seduction by the confiscation of a portion of the man's property, by corporal punishment, or by banishment; adultery, by allowing the outraged husband or father who surprised the guilty to put them to the sword, and by declaring that a woman convicted of this crime should never be allowed to contract marriage with a man of free birth.³ On the other hand,

¹ Dion, liv. 18.

² The juriconsults said: *Major dignitas est in sexu virili* (Ulpian in the *Digest*, i. 9, *prooem.*). We already find, however, something similar to the formula of the Middle Ages, — "The mother ennobles." The women of Delphi, Pontus, and Iliensis Colonia, when they married a man of another city, conferred on their children the title of citizens of their native city (*Digest*, l. tit. i. sec. 2, and tit. ii. fr. 9), and the juriconsults recognized the ability of the son of a slave father and a free mother to attain the decurionship.

³ The punishment of death for adultery was introduced by Constantine (*Cod.* ix. 9, 30). Paulus (*Sent. lib.* II. xxvi. 14) only speaks of the confiscation of part of a man's goods, and the banishment of the two guilty ones to two different islands. Augustus accepted concubinage, however, but introduced regulations to diminish the disorders attendant upon it. He gave it a definite juridical character, and fixed certain legal relations between the two connected parties and their children (*Digest*, xxv. 7; *Cod.* v. 26). [The law noticed in the text is far in advance of ours, which permits a divorced adulteress to exhibit her crime permanently, by marrying her paramour. — Ed.]

he gave the faithful wife a guaranty for her property, by forbidding the husband to alienate the dowry,¹ and another for her liberty, by freeing the mother of a family from the harassing guardianship of the Agnates.²

I do not venture to say that Augustus hoped to lead the matrons back to the virtues of Lueretia and of Tanaquil the spinster; but he at least attempted to restore to them a little of that modesty of which the circus had deprived them. He forbade them entrance to those games in which athletes contended, and at gladiatorial combats he relegated them to the highest benches in the amphitheatre. He did more for them by making marriage honorable and attaching privileges to lawful and fruitful unions. Here comes in one of the most important acts of his internal administration, the famous *Lex Papia-Poppaea*, the greatest monument of Roman legislation since the Twelve Tables.

In the tempest which for a century past had raged in the Republic, not only institutions had perished, but a shameless cynicism had ruined private morals.³ In many Roman houses there were no longer fathers, sons, wives, in the true sense. Marriage had become an inconvenience, and was abandoned; and to escape its obligations men lived in celibacy, or, what was still worse, disgraced the marriage tie by yearly divorces. Matrons, it was said, reckoned the years by their husbands, and not by the consuls. Such a state of morals endangered not only the family, but society itself. In order to compel the class of citizens to recruit itself from within, and not from the foul sink of slavery, Augustus resumed and developed the measures of Caesar;⁴ in the year 18 B. C. he proposed the *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*. The evil was so deeply rooted and wide spread that those very Romans who had no strength left to defend their liberty found

¹ Except by the special consent of the woman. Even with her consent a mortgage could not be laid upon the *dotale praedium*, or immovable property, situated in Italy (*Inst.* ii. 8, *pr.* and 18; cf. Ulp., *Reg. lib.* 13, *e lege Julia de adulteriis*). This law, passed in the year 17 B. C., is the basis of all the dowry regulations.

² Marezoll, *Droit privé*, sec. 166. Free-born women having three children, and freedwomen who had four, were exempt from guardianship. Augustus regulated the system.

³ See the fine ode of Horace, iii. 6. A rich citizen, celebrated for his infamous morals, having been assassinated by his slaves, Augustus refused to institute a prosecution (*Senec. Quaest. Nat.* i. 16).

⁴ Dion, xliii. 25.

enough to shield their vices; the comitia with one voice rejected the proposal, and the Emperor had to wait twenty years before he could secure its acceptance (4 A.D.). Five years later, braving the violent outcries which it raised, and a threatened tumult of knights in the open theatre, he reproduced the measure in a law called *Papia-Poppaea*, which formed a new code, so to speak, wherein were regulated not only marriage, but divorce, dowry, deeds of gift between husband and wife, inheritances, legacies, etc. A critical and unprejudiced judge has remarked of these laws: "They include so wide a range of subjects, they bear upon so many things, that they form the finest part of the civil law of the Romans."¹

The law, looking upon marriage as a debt due to the state, divided the citizens into two classes,—those who had children (*patres*), and those who had none (*cælibes vel orbi*). On the former it conferred privileges and honors; on the latter it inflicted a diminution of rights, so graded as to punish the unmarried man more heavily than the childless citizen (*orbis*), who in marrying had at least given proof of submission to the law. The penalty was skilfully attached to one of the strongest passions of that period, where, legislation having set hardly any limits to the power of bequeathing by will,² legacy-hunting was one of the constant employments of the citizens. The Emperor closed or diminished this source of fortune to those who failed to observe the provisions of his law by declaring that the unmarried man³ should be incapable of receiving anything from a foreigner; that the citizen whose marriage remained without fruit should have a right to only one half of what might be bequeathed to him, and that he should not

¹ Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, xxiii. 21. The opposition which these laws encountered is certain; the dates given are not,—with the exception of that of the consulship of Papius Mutilus and Poppæus Sæcundus, in the year 9 of our era.

² It was an honor, too, to say nothing of the profit, to be remembered in a will. We have seen how Cicero (*Phil.* ii. 32) boasted of having thus received twenty million sesterces, or nearly seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand dollars. Augustus himself received very considerable legacies every year (Suet., *Octav.* 101). "But when the inheritance of some one who had children fell to him, he immediately restored it to the latter if they were adults, and if they were not, he gave it back later on, together with all the interest" (Dion, lvi. 32).

³ The following were looked upon as celibates,—the man unmarried at the age of twenty-five, the woman at twenty, the man who married after sixty, and the woman after fifty. To avoid the law men married children. Augustus annulled all betrothals not accomplished at the end of two years. Now as the Roman law did not allow girls under twelve to be married, they could not be affianced under the age of ten (Dion, liv. 16).

leave his wife by will more than a tenth of his heritage, nor receive more of hers. This property, of which the law deprived citizens who were exempt from family cares, it conferred upon those heirs or legatees who had given children to the state.¹ If they too had no posterity, the Roman people, as the common father, was substituted for them, and the treasury received the legacies.² All citizens were invited by rich rewards to denounce infractions of these regulations.³

To these positive benefits were joined the prerogatives formerly accorded to age, a better place at the theatre, and everywhere and in all things a precedence over citizens of the same rank. A numerous family secured preference in the pursuit and exercise of honors. The consul who had most children took the fasces first, and had his choice of the provinces; similarly, the most fruitful wife won for the senator the right of heading the list of the Senate, and of giving his opinion first. For fathers of families the time required for attaining the magistracies was shortened, every child making it a year less;⁴ and three children at Rome exempted a man from personal charges, freed him from guardianship, and secured him a double share in the distributions. The Vestals officially had the *jus trium liberorum*, and the soldiers, who were also debarred from marriage, obtained it from Claudius.⁵ This right, then, became a new condition added to those already existing in society and marking its ranks; it was a much-envied privilege not always sought after by legal means, and frequently extorted from the easy prodigality of the Emperors, though the

¹ Fathers often found another advantage in the system of trustees, which, as regulated by Augustus, allowed an inheritance to fall to persons formerly incapable of receiving one. The citizens possessing the *jus trium liberorum* took advantage of it to the exclusion of the unmarried. The consuls were invested with this new jurisdiction (*Inst.* ii. 23, sec. 1).

² Gains, *Inst.* ii., sections 206 and 286. The right pertaining to heirs having children to claim lapsed property, *jus caduca vindicandi*, was so fully recognized that Ulpian reckons this right among the means of acquiring quiritarian property (*Reg. lib.* xix. 17).

³ More than a quarter of the disputed property was attributed to the *delator*, for Nero won a momentary popularity when *praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit* (Suet., *Nero*, 10).

⁴ When divorce on the death of either husband or wife dissolved the union, Augustus granted in the first case only eighteen months, and in the second only two years, to contract another (Suet., *Octav.* 34; Ulp., *Reg. lib.* xiv.). Concerning the efficacy of these laws, it may be remarked that neither Vergil, Horace, Propertius, nor Tibullus married.

⁵ τὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων δικαιώματα (Dion, lx. 24).

best of them were very sparing of it. Augustus long refused it to Livia; he only granted it to her after the death of Drusus, together with other honors decreed to the Empress to draw her mind from the loss of her son. We shall see that even the gods were made subject to the Poppæan law.

In the year 17 B. C., on the third day of the Secular games, — that solemnity which no man could see twice,¹ — choirs of boys and young maidens sang in the Capitol: —

“Gracious and gentle, with thy shaft laid by, Apollo, hear the boys who pray to thee! Hear the girls, O Luna, crescented queen of the Stars!

“If Rome is your workmanship, and bands from Ilium reached the Tuscan shore, a number bidden to change, by a prosperous voyage, their household gods and city, — for whom unharmed, through burning Troy, pious Aeneas, outliving his country, opened a free path, he destined to give them more than they had left, — ye gods, grant morals fair to docile youth; ye gods, to quiet old age, grant repose; grant to the people of Romulus wealth and progeny and every glory!

“And may the illustrious descendant of Anchises and Venus obtain the blessings for which he worships ye with the homage of white oxen, — still superior to his enemy, still merciful to the prostrate foe!

“Now, by sea and land the Median fears our mighty forces and the Alban axes; now the Scythians beg replies from us, though lately haughty, and the Indians too!

“Now Faith and Peace and Honor and Antique Modesty and neglected Virtue dare to return, and Plenty appears to view, rich with her o’erflowing horn!”²

Must we distrust this poetry as we do the poet, who, for all his fine verses, was as light-minded as ever? Or shall we believe that the Emperor succeeded in making his people religious and moral by virtue of laws? The law has nothing to do with these things. It cannot penetrate to the depths of men’s consciences, eradicate vice, and purify the soul. Yet, as it controls external actions, it some-

¹ After Augustus they were celebrated by Claudius, Domitian, and Septimius Severus (Zos., i. 4), — apparently every fifty years.

² Horace, *Carmen Seculare*.

times reaches through them the passions which produce them. The man who for forty-four years made Roman society feel



HORACE.²

the pressure of an honest will, certainly restored a degree of order, propriety, and outward dignity. He forced his fellow-citizens to respect themselves by laws which, after doing some good at Rome, went on doing much more in the provinces, where they were copied and better obeyed.¹ Unfortunately we hear the author of the *Car-men Seculare* also saying words like these:

“The good man, admired by every forum and every tribunal, on the day when he appeases the gods by the offering of a pig or an ox, with loud voice says, ‘O Father Janus!’ with loud voice, ‘O Apollo!’ Then, just moving his lips, lest he be overheard, he prays: ‘Lovely Laverna, grant that no one may suspect me; grant me to pass for a righteous and holy man; cast over my sins and frauds a cloud as thick as night!’”³

IV. — REFORMS IN ITALY.

ALL that the Emperor did for the maintenance of order in his capital had its counterpart in Italy, which was accustomed to copy Rome and her institutions. The peninsula did not form a provincial government, for it furnished neither money nor soldiers, since it was not subject to the land-tax, and the frontier

¹ Examples of these laws made for the citizens and adopted by the provincials are found in Gaius (i. 47), Ulpian (xi. 20), *Digest* (xxx. fr. 41, sec. 6), *Cod.* (vii. 9, 3; vii. 71, 4). Thus the *lex Julia de ambitu* was almost useless at Rome, where there were merely illusory elections; it was very necessary in the municipia, where the elections were serious, and caused agitations. Rome was not the whole empire, and the corruption which, thanks to such accumulated riches, reigned there, was not possible everywhere else. But wherever there were citizens the Julian laws were applied; and in the towns deprived of the rights of citizenship the local laws tended towards the Roman ones by frequently borrowing from either the ancient legislation (Ulp., xi. 18; Gaius, i. 183, 185; iii. 122) or from the imperial constitutions (Pliny, *Epist.* x. 71, 72), the edicts of governors (Gaius, i. 6) or the *senatus-consulta* (Pliny, *ibid.* x. 77).

² HORATIVS; bust of Horace; behind the head and cut into the medal, a palm. Bronze coin called a contorniated medallion.

³ Horace, *Epist.* i. 16, 57-62.

legions were not recruited there;¹ moreover, as all the inhabitants had the right of Roman citizenship, no Roman magistrate could exercise the *jus necis* there of the military command. Augustus divided Italy into eleven regions,—probably in order to centralize the results of the municipal census and facilitate the collection of the indirect taxes and the administration of the public domain and of the *subseciva*, or colonial lands not yet assigned.² Possibly this service was allotted to the four quaestors who in the time of the Republic resided respectively at Ostia, at Cales, in Cisalpine Gaul, and perhaps at Rimini, whom on Dion's testimony³ Augustus instituted for Italy. We do not know, but it must have been provided for in some way or other.

In order to prevent brigandage, Augustus disarmed the population. No weapons might be retained save for the chase or for travelling.⁴ The robber-bands were recruited from ruined peasants, from military colonists wearied with an agricultural life, and especially from slaves, who, after having served for some time in the army, concealing their origin, took the first opportunity of escaping to the mountains. Augustus made a strict examination of his legions before sending them to the frontiers, and all the slaves found in the ranks were restored to their masters or crucified.⁵ The veterans he distributed among twenty-eight Italian colonies, where he did not forget them, five times bestowing considerable gratuities upon them, in order to retain them there.

Before his time the foundation of a colony had been a calamity for the town where it was established, the inhabitants being compelled to share their houses and fields with the proud and turbulent new-comers, if indeed the colonists did not take every-

¹ We have not a single inscription mentioning an Italian legionary. The peninsula only furnished recruits for the praetorian and urban cohorts, those of the *vigiles*, and the volunteer cohorts.

² See Desjardins, *Les xi régions d'Auguste*, in the *Revue historique*, i. 184. The list of the *subseciva* was drawn up in the *libri beneficiorum*. (Cf. *Gromatici Veteres*, i. 202, 295.)

³ *lv.* 4.

⁴ *Digest*, *xlvi.* 6, 1.

⁵ *App.*, *Bell. civ.* v. 131. In the Monument of Ancyra Augustus says that after his victory over Sextus he restored to their masters, *ad supplicium sumendum*, thirty thousand fugitive slaves; and according to Paulus Orosius (*vi.* 18) he crucified six thousand slaves who had no masters.

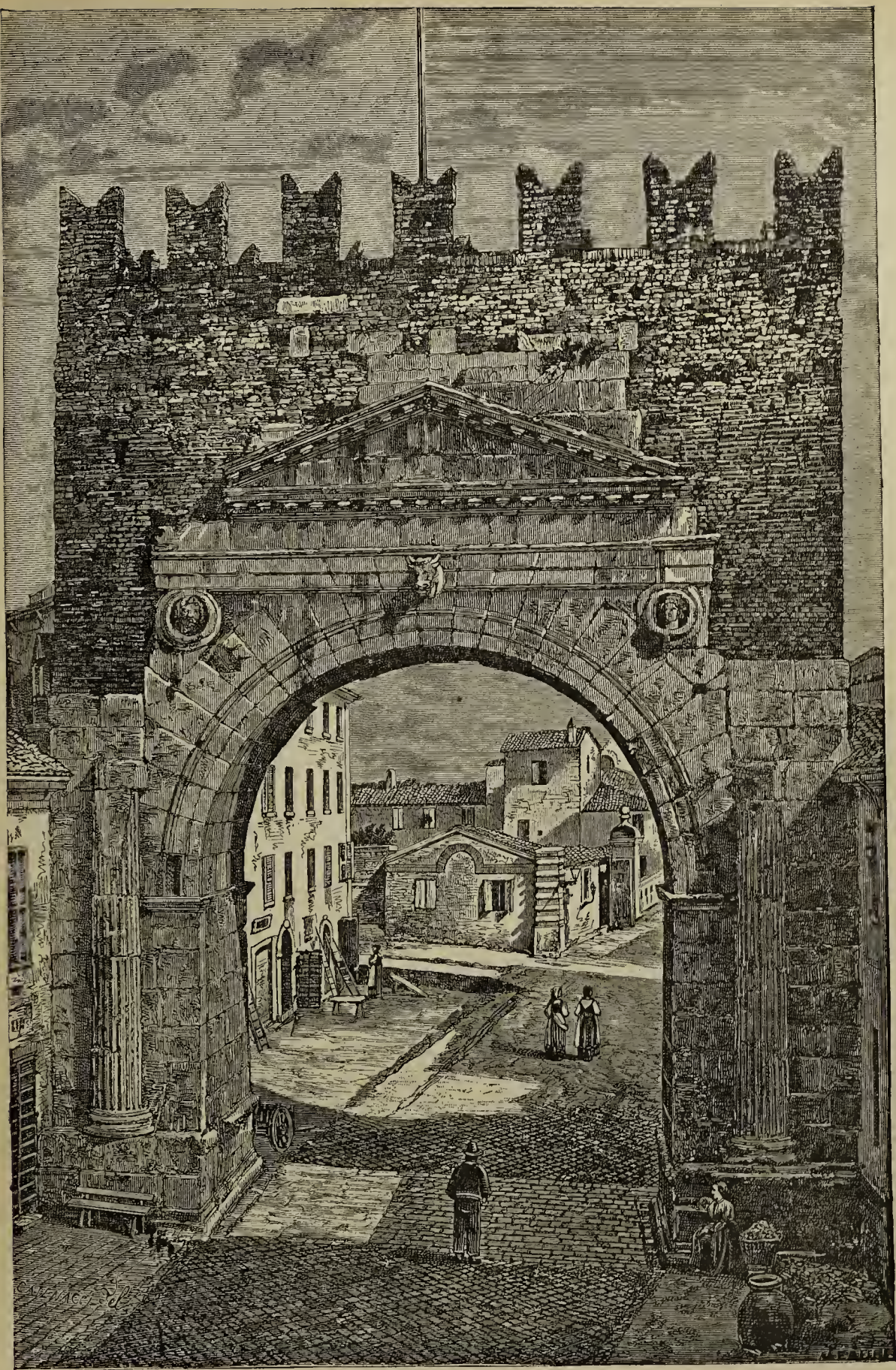
thing. Augustus made it his boast that he bought the lands which he gave to his soldiers in the years 30 and 14 B.C. "I have paid," said he, "for fields situated in Italy six hundred million sesterees, and two hundred and sixty millions for those given in the provinces. I was the first and only one to do this of all those who have founded colonies." And he had reason to



BRIDGE OF AUGUSTUS AT RIMINI (PRESENT STATE).

pride himself upon it; for by this measure he prevented the renewal of those frightful tumults of which Italy since Sylla's time had never ceased to be the theatre. In order to render Rome more easy of access, he repaired at his own expense the Flaminian Way as far as Ariminum (Rimini), and desired that, following his example, every citizen honored with the triumph should employ in paving a road the money which fell to him as his share of the spoil.

The Italians availed themselves of the establishment of order to cultivate their lands, and to labor with the hope, which for sixty years they had not possessed, of enjoying at last the fruit of



ARCH OF AUGUSTUS AT RIMINI.

their industry. Brundisium and Puteoli, the two great seaports of Italy, — one for travellers, the other for traders, — and Ostia, through which the supply of provisions came in, increased visibly. Octavius had burned Perusia, and Augustus rebuilt and adorned it. Rimini still keeps the marble bridge he built there, and a triumphal arch erected in his honor by the inhabitants. Veii, colonized by him, recovered prosperity; in its ruins have been found proof of its importance at that time, — two colossal heads of Augustus and Tiberius, a statue of the latter, and some magnificent columns which now decorate the Piazza Colonna in Rome and the basilica of Saint Paul.¹ Caere became more prosperous than ever before;² the Tuscan Maremma revived, and populous cities rose from the ruins under which Sylla had buried them; Arezzo spread throughout all Italy its red pottery, much valued for the table; and Tertullian reproaches the Tuscans for having flooded Rome with images of their gods. Freebooters, tracked by the imperial police, no longer infested the roads, and hence all articles of merchandise circulated freely; and everywhere in the work of reparation appeared that ardor which in all ages is manifested after social crises.

PERUSIAN MIRROR.³

Augustus did not restore to the Italian farmers their great market, that of Rome, which was now fed by the frumentary

¹ "At Tarquinii, Vulci, Cosa, Volsinii, Clusium, and Rusellae are found manifest proofs that the Empire and peace had repaired the ravages made by the civil wars. Vetulonia was rebuilt. Cortona, Fiesole, Volterra, and Arezzo likewise preserve traces of their material prosperity during the first and second centuries of the Christian era" (Noël des Vergers, *L'Étrurie*, ii. 379).

² A beautiful statue of Claudius has been found there, the base decorated with a representation of the twelve Etruscan nations.

³ Peleus pursuing Thetis (Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*).

provinces; and the advantages offered to the importation of foreign grains kept bread cheap, notwithstanding the circumstances which would have otherwise raised its price, to the profit of the Italian producers. But the *annona* was a duty which came with the heirship to the Republic, and the Emperor could have repudiated it only by renouncing the entire heritage.

The religious reform which he had instituted at Rome extended throughout the whole of Italy; and the worship of the Lares gave rise to a new order of citizens, whom we shall later find in the provinces also. The most important novelty of this period concerns the voting of the cities. All the Italians had citizenship, — a nominal advantage, of which they could make use only by going to



THE VOTING OF THE ITALIANS (FROM A BAS-RELIEF FOUND IN THE FORUM).¹

Rome on every occasion of the comitia, since in Rome only could votes be cast. Augustus, in allowing an appearance of free elections to exist still, took occasion to provide himself with a means of off-setting the votes of the Roman people by those of the Italian cities. He authorized the decurions to send in their votes in the election to the great Roman magistracies.² As the decurions,

¹ The Italians are represented bringing their tablets to the Roman magistrates, who had the duty of collecting the results of the census lately made in the cities.

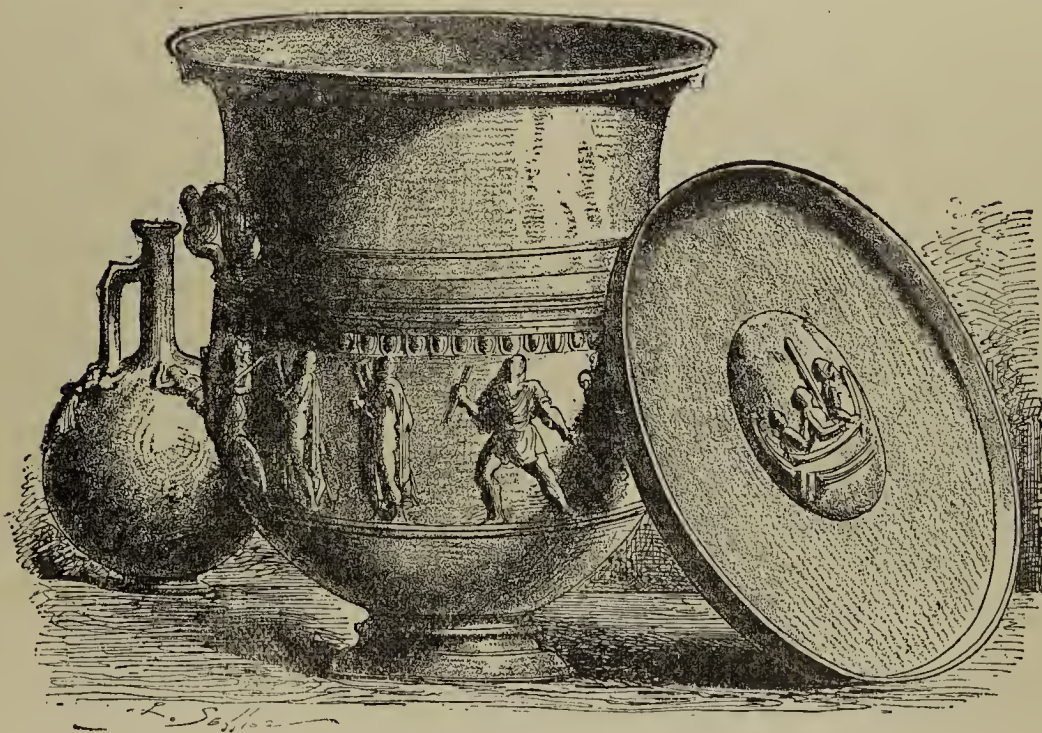
² Suetonius, who refers to this measure (*Octav.* 46), seems to say that only the decurions

to the number of one hundred in each city, had been indirectly elected by the popular assembly,¹ the right which they received from Augustus constituted a sort of suffrage by two grades, which is not without analogy with the procedure by which French senators and consular judges are elected.

This attempt at organization of universal suffrage in Italy, combined with the provincial representation, — of which we shall speak later, — might have produced the happiest results, uniting by free institutions the various parts of the Empire. But this solution of the political problem, which for a moment seemed possible, was quickly lost to sight; the Emperors knew not how to develop these fruitful germs, or willingly suffered them to perish.

of the twenty-eight colonies founded by Augustus had this advantage; but it is certain that those of the municipia obtained the same privilege, since he affirms that the Emperor sought to render Italy almost the equal of Rome in rights and honors.

¹ The admission to the curia was through a magistracy, and it was the public assembly which elected the magistrates; but it was obligatory to retain the ex-magistrates on the list of senators prepared every five years by the *quinquennales*.



RED POTTERY OF AREZZO.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AUGUSTUS IN THE PROVINCES.

I. — DIVISION OF THE PROVINCES BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE SENATE. NEW CHARACTER OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

IT was the design of Augustus to establish throughout the Empire the order which he caused to prevail in Rome, by organizing the provinces in such a manner as to stifle internal dissensions and prevent attacks from without. To this end, measures of two kinds were necessary, — military and administrative. We will first examine the latter.

We have already seen what the Roman administration of the provinces¹ was designed to be, and what in reality it became in the hands of that violent and rapacious aristocracy which perished at Pharsalia and Philippi, or suffered itself to be made captive by the favors of Julius and Octavius. The younger Gracchus, Sylla, and Caesar had exhibited towards the provincials a good-will which had proved to be of no avail, because the two former were not capable of organizing in Rome a power strong enough to impose upon all a respect for the laws, and because the latter had not had time to do this. But Augustus had now created this power, and the provincials hailed its advent with acclamations. Their legal condition, however, was not changed; the old formulas were all preserved. That which the provinces were on the morrow of the conquest, they still remained under Trajan and the Antonines; Strabo, Appian, Pliny — all our witnesses attest this.² Only there

¹ See Vol. II. p. 223 *seq.*

² Strabo says (xiv. 646) that the kingdom of Pergamus preserved in his time the organization which had been given it by Aquilius a hundred and fifty years before; and Appian (*Praef.* 13), that the Romans, after the downfall of Carthage, *Λιβύην κατέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα*. In the time of Pliny the Younger Pompey's law, or *formula provinciae*, was still in force in Bithynia (*Epist.* x. 114).

had ceased to be the periodical pillage of the governors, and there had been added a security advantageous to commerce and industry.

Under the Republic law and fact were opposed; the Empire brought them into harmony. In respect to the government of the provinces Augustus did scarcely anything beyond this; he introduced no more innovations there than in Rome, — which, however, did not at all prevent his accomplishing in both cases a salutary revolution, while at the same time preserving the ancient forms.

In the last days of the Republic its territories were divided into fourteen provinces, governed by persons who had held the office of consul or praetor, — the two Gauls, the two Spains, Illyria with Dalmatia, Macedon with Achaia, Asia, Bithynia with Pontus, Cilicia, Syria, the Cyrenaïca with Crete, Africa with Numidia, Sicily, and Sardinia with Corsica. The ex-consuls were as a rule sent into provinces where the presence of the legions was necessary; the ex-praetors into the others. But this rule was varied according to peace or war, and even according to the caprice of the nobles.

Augustus preserved the principle of this division. Under the Empire provinces were of two kinds, — those lying upon the Mediterranean Sea, peaceful and industrious countries, long since subjugated and quite Romanized, where life was easy and tranquil, and not even a cohort was now needed to secure obedience; behind this tranquil zone the barbarous and warlike regions on the shores of the ocean, of the Rhine and the Danube, and those countries which were incessantly menaced by dangerous neighbors, like the shores of the Euphrates and the Valley of the Nile.¹ In the latter, armies were indispensable, and to rule them the governor had need of the absolute authority of the military chief. But the armies and their generals obeyed the commander-in-chief, the emperor; hence it was needful to leave to the Emperor those provinces where the legions were stationed, and where the country was, so to speak, in a state of perpetual siege. In these provinces there

¹ The Senate possessed at first, according to Dion, Africa with Numidia, Baetica, Asia, Greece or Achaia with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedon, Sicily, Crete with the Cyrenaïca, Bithynia with Pontus and Corsica; the Emperor had the rest, — Tarraconensis, Narbonensis, Cilicia, Syria, and Egypt, and the new provinces which were formed in Spain, Gaul, the Alps, and along the Danube.

was labor and peril;¹ but there was also power and military renown, both of which Augustus desired (27 B. C.).

This division into praetorian provinces, or those belonging to the Emperor, and proconsular, or those belonging to the Senate and people, was not immutable. More than once the two powers made an exchange; but the principle was always maintained that only the peaceful regions should belong to the Senate. Thus Cyprus and Narbonensis, originally imperial provinces, reverted to the people, who in turn gave up Dalmatia, whither disturbances had summoned the legions. In the same way Tiberius took from the Senate Macedon and Achaia, which Claudius afterwards restored to them. In fact, this partition was but an empty form. The Senate, which at Rome, in the curia, remained mute in the Emperor's presence, could scarcely be expected to speak with authority in the provinces. If war broke out, or a revolt, the imperator at once intervened; if a proconsul died in office the Emperor filled the place with one of his procurators,² and sometimes even in less urgent cases. Augustus, in virtue of his proconsular power, issued edicts by which all the governors were bound, those of the Senate as well as his own; and in his numerous journeys he visited all the provinces along his road, whether they were imperial or not.

The provinces belonging to the people were the finest, and their governors the most important. Chosen by lot, according to custom, from among the ex-consuls and ex-praetors who had been at least five years out of office,³ they all were called proconsuls, even those who had been only praetors; they had twelve lictors with axes and rods,⁴ the senatorial robe, a salary which permitted them to display royal luxury,⁵ and finally, the right to assume all

¹ Αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχῃ (Dion, liii. 12).

² . . . *proc. provinciae Asiae quam mandatu principis vice defuncti proc. rexit*, probably under Vespasian (Orelli, 3,651).

³ This was the rule established by Pompey in 52 B. C. (Dion, liii. 13). The lot having fallen badly, ἐπειδὴ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἦρχον, the Emperor took care to designate in advance those who should be presented to take their chance (*Ibid.* 14).

⁴ Twelve in Asia and in Africa, and six in the other provinces, called the praetorian.

⁵ The proconsuls of Asia and Africa each received, at the beginning of the third century, one million sesterces (Dion, lxxviii. 23); the procurators only two hundred thousand, one hundred thousand, or even sixty thousand (Dion, liii. 15; Jul. Capit., *Pert.* 2; Tac., *Agric.* 42; Lamp., *Alex. Sev.* 42; Treb. Pol., *Claud.* 15; *Prob.* 4).

the insignia of their dignity as soon as they had passed the pomoerium, but were without the sword or the military cloak.¹

The imperial governors seemed of much less consequence. They, even when ex-consuls,² were called only *propraetors*, and but five lictors preceded them, and even these only when the governor was in his province. The Roman people, therefore, saw their own magistrates set off with all the exterior signs of power, a numerous train, and the old republican display, while those of the Emperor appeared the agents of an inferior and timid authority.

The people and the Senate had reason to be content. But this agent, who went away alone and quietly with the Emperor's instructions,³ on reaching his province assumed the sword and the war-cloak. While the proconsul was occupied with public entertainments or in listening to the rhetoricians, or amid a round of festivities journeyed through his peaceful province, the *propraetor*, at the head of his legions, was fighting or negotiating with kings. The authority of both was absolute in civil and criminal cases over all in the province, whether provincials or Roman citizens,—an appeal, however, being allowed the citizen to the authority at Rome.⁴ But the *propraetor* was subject only to the Emperor, the proconsul both to the Emperor and Senate. The latter, except by special command, had no authority whatever over the soldiers who passed through his province or sojourned there; the former, invested with the military *imperium*, had the power of life and death over them.⁵ The latter had but a year in his province; the former was allowed to remain three years, often five, ten, or even more, at the will of the master who sent him thither.⁶

¹ *Digest*, i. 16, 1. The proconsular province of Africa being, however, a frontier province, the governor who took charge of it for the Senate had, under Augustus and Tiberius, a legion and an auxiliary corps,—but by a special permission of the Emperor, which under Claudius was withdrawn (*Tac., Ann.* iv. 48; *Dion*, lix. 20).

² Augustus selected them from among the ex-consuls (*legatus Aug. consularis pro praetore*) when they were to take command of several legions, and from among the ex-praetors when they were to command but one (*leg. Aug. pro praetore*).

³ *Dion*, liii. 15; *Pliny, Epist.* x. 64. Most of the questions which they were to determine had been foreseen and settled. The proconsuls received instructions also from the Emperor.

⁴ *Plenissimam jurisdictionem proc. habet* (*Digest*, i. 16, 7). In respect to the importance attached to the title of citizen in the provinces, see in the Acts of the Apostles the history of Saint Paul's imprisonment at Jerusalem. Under Trajan mention is again made of a *civis Romanus* who, being accused of a capital crime, was sent to Rome (*Pliny, Epist.* x. 97).

⁵ *Jus gladii* (*Digest*, i. 17, 6, see. 8).

⁶ In twenty-one years there were under Tiberius only two procurators in Judaea,—Gratus

How much care was taken to enhance before the public eye the importance of the Senate's officers, and to make the officers of the Emperor inconspicuous; to give the latter power without honors, and to the former the empty show of dignity which solaces and gratifies waning ambition! But thus great changes are effected without awakening an opposition which would impede their progress or bring on violent collisions. Force overthrows; only moderation and prudence can build up, if that prudence be not disastrously hampered by the prejudices of the moment or by those of former days.



MAGISTRATE
INVESTED WITH
THE IMPERIUM.¹

Whether appointed by the Senate or the Emperor, the governors of provinces were invested, subject to the differences just indicated, with all political, military, and judicial powers. In the imperial provinces we shall note the absence of the quaestor;² this ancient title, honored by so many illustrious names, was here replaced by the more modest name of the procurator. The procurators, selected from the equestrian order, even from the class of freedmen or of provincials,³ were sent into the senatorial provinces to take charge of the Emperor's private property (*fiscus*), and into the imperial provinces to fulfil all the functions which the Senate assigned to its quaestors, with the single exception of judicial authority, the procurators having in the early period jurisdiction only over the slaves.⁴ The ruler, whose stewards they were, did not leave them long, however, in this inferior position; Claudius gave orders that their decisions in regard to contributions should have equal force with his own.⁵ There was a procurator for each

and Pilate (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4 and 5). Appian says also (*Iber.* 102): *Στρατηγὸν ἐπιπέμπειν ἑτησίους . . . ἡ βουλὴ . . . βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον δοκιμάσειεν.* Tiberius, however, left Silanus, proconsul in Africa, seven years in office.

¹ Reverse of a coin of Brutus representing the consul preceded by the *accensus*, or orderly, attached to magistrates in possession of the imperium, and escorted by his lictors, the axe above the rods. (Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, at the word *Accensus*.)

² Gaius, *Inst.* i. 6.

³ Gessius Florus, procurator of Judaea, was a native of Clazomenae (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xx. 9). Another, Tiberius Alexander, was an apostate Jew (*Id.*, *ibid.* 4). The freedmen attained to the inferior procuratorships only; we never find them among the *procuratores praesides*.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 15: *Jus in servitia et in pecunias familiares.*

⁵ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 60; Suet., *Claud.* 12; Ulp., in the *Digest*, i. 19, *Prooem.* It is probable also that from that time on, this office gave the rank of knight (Tac., *Agric.* 4).

great district or province, sometimes one only for two or three contiguous provinces, for as yet there is nothing fixed in these divisions.¹ "The Emperor and the Senate," says Strabo, "divide their provinces, now in one way, now in another, and modify the administration of them according to circumstances." The Romans were too ignorant of the principles of a good administration and of the needs of the countries that were to be governed to establish invariable rules,—which would, moreover, have been only an embarrassment to a power unwilling to be bound by them.²

The procurators of the imperial provinces were sometimes invested with political powers; the Roman administration in Judaea, for instance, had no higher agents. They were in reality governors, although Judaea was but a fragment of Syria. Pontius Pilate, Cumanus, Felix, pronounced sentence as the highest local authority. They were subject, however, to the governor of Syria, who could displace them and cite them before the Emperor. By the creation of these new functionaries a change commenced,—that separation of the civil and military powers which was to be completed under Constantine.

Beneath these magistrates were officers of all grades, and inferior agents,—prefects, tribunes, scribes, criers, public slaves, lictors, etc. We must not forget the cohort, the friends and pupils of the governor, who formed his council or his court of justice, and to whom he sometimes intrusted the most important commissions.³ Centurions and veterans, sent to the allied nations or to native chiefs, represented the name of Rome and watched over her interests. We find such in Frisia and Batavia, at Byzantium and in Africa.⁴

This organization of the provinces under the supreme authority of the Emperor was the dawn of a great idea,—that administrative

¹ In the ancient kingdom of Judaea, Samaria and Galilee had at one time each its procurator (Tac., *Ann.* xii. 54).

² [Considering the extraordinary contrasts of national feeling and of previous political training among the subject states, a system of invariable rules would probably have worked as badly as the modern craze of imposing parliaments and constitutional governments on all kinds of untrained societies.—ED.]

³ Vitellius, after deposing Pontius Pilate, gave Judaea into the charge of Marcellus, one of his friends (τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων, Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4). There were also *assessores*, men who sat beside the magistrate and gave advice as experts. Alexander Severus gave them a regular salary (Lampr., *Alex. Sev.* 45).

⁴ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 72; *Hist.* iv. 14; Pliny, *Epist.* x.; L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.* 2,715 and 4,033.

order which the Greeks had never known, which the Republic had but poorly comprehended, and which modern nations have inherited from the Empire.

The Verrine Oration has shown us what a provincial governor could be in the last century of the Republic. With the Empire his position changed.¹ In the earlier time the province saw a new master arrive every year, eager to return to the pleasures of Rome, hastening to make his fortune and repair his establishment at the expense of those whom he came to govern. But the Empire being now one man's domain, this property will be managed better, — in a degree, no doubt, from a spirit of justice, but above all from interested motives. Next to a wise selection and a close supervision, the best chance of a good administration rested in a long tenure of office; and to retain its officials for as many years as possible, became one of the favorite maxims of the imperial administration.

The provincial governors, reduced to the condition of the mere agents of a watchful and formidable power, now saw danger forever hanging over them; and in the edicts of the ruler they received, in the form of laws, counsels like those which Cicero vainly gave to the governors of an earlier day.

The fixed salary which provided for their needs set free the subjects from the exactions of which, under pretext of supplies to be furnished to the praetor, the latter had been the victims; and instead of merely passing a few months in a province whose chief cities the governors scarcely knew by name, we now see them resident in the country long enough to understand its needs, and so habituate themselves to provincial life that it no longer seemed an exile to them.² The proconsuls of the Republic left their wives in Rome; those of the Empire took theirs with them.

¹ Later, it was forbidden to send any man as an officer into his native province, for the purpose of avoiding acts of partiality; it was also forbidden to levy anything, even for the public treasury, beyond the fixed sum (Dion, liii. 15, lvii. 10; Tac., *Ann.* iv. 6).

² Dion, iv. 28: *Ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον*; Tac., *Ann.* iv. 6: *Quum plerique iisdem negotiis insenscerent*. (Cf. p. 146, n. 6.) This was recognized as so necessary that in the year 5 A. D., disturbances having broken out in many places, it was declared that the governors of senatorial provinces, henceforth to be elected, not chosen by lot, should remain in office two years. Many upright men under the Republic had refused these positions, being unwilling to pillage the provinces. Atticus would never accept one, Cicero went into Cilicia with reluctance, and Quintus complains bitterly of being obliged to remain a third year in Asia.

Augustus favored this custom; and Alexander Severus went farther, requiring a temporary union from every unmarried governor. The principle was that the former were regarded as going, in a sense, into an enemy's country, and that it was not fitting for a man to take his wife into camp; while the latter went among his fellow-citizens and with the purpose of a long residence. The governor was no longer in camp in his province; his affections were there, his domestic hearth, and his Penates, which his wife, like Rachel, had brought with her, hidden in her bosom.

This is not to say that the governors were suddenly transformed into able and upright men, but only that the earlier excesses became difficult, for the reason that too conspicuous crimes drew upon the offender prompt punishment;¹ that too great a fortune was likely to tempt the avidity of the Emperor; that, in a word, moderation and prudence were recommended to the governors by their own interest. Gentle though he was, Augustus gave an example of salutary severity. Later, we shall read of the fate of Gallus and Lollius, two of the Emperor's friends, who by their exactions incurred his displeasure, and in consequence took their own lives. Nor had he even any indulgence for those of his own household; and the freedmen who under his successors became so powerful, were kept by him in the humble discharge of their duties. "His secretary," says Suetonius, "having accepted five hundred denarii to communicate the contents of a letter, he caused the man's legs to be broken. The preceptor and the slaves of Caius Caesar having taken advantage of the prince's illness to commit acts of rapacity and tyranny in his province, the Emperor ordered

¹ Dion says that the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians in the year 6 was caused by the exactions of the governor. This is possible; but any administration, however gentle, must have appeared insupportable to these barbarians, who with difficulty submitted to the payment of tribute and to the surrender of their sons for military service. In respect to Varus, whom Velleius Paterculus accused of going into Syria poor and returning thence rich, we may remark that the poverty of this man, who had some time before been consul, and who was connected by marriage with the imperial family, could not have been very serious; that, secondly, he remained nine years in his province, while under the earlier system Syria would have been thrice or four times plundered; finally, that Varus, after his defeat, might with impunity be accused by any man and on any point. In the case of the freedman Licinius in Gaul, his extortions show that Augustus could not prevent everything; but the confiscation which overtook him proves also that such conduct was dangerous, or at least profitless. Achaia and Macedon being dissatisfied with the Senate's administration (*onera deprecantes*), nothing better is proposed than to transfer them to the Emperor's care (Tac., *Ann.* i. 76).

them to be thrown into the water with stones round their necks.” His conception of the Empire was the same as the Senate’s, — the most vigorous political centralization, but much administrative liberty; a sovereign will at Rome for the general vitality of the Empire, and independence in the provinces for the management of local affairs. The provincial cities kept, and were to keep for three centuries more, their religion, their special customs or laws, their own magistrates, their public assemblies, their revenues and possessions; and to see them thus administer their affairs in their own way, these cities might have been thought to be small independent states, to which nothing was lacking save the right to disturb the public peace and tear each other to pieces by continual wars, as in the time of their liberty.

Julius Caesar had sent eighty thousand citizens into colonies beyond the sea; Augustus continued this system, less in obedience to a principle of government than as an expedient for fulfilling the promises made to his veterans. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (No. 28) Augustus enumerates the military colonies founded by him in the provinces. This was increasing there the number of persons whose rights the governors were bound to respect.

II. — FINANCIAL REFORMS.

In the government of the provinces Augustus instituted two important innovations, one political, the other religious, and both extremely judicious.

Twenty years of civil wars, of pillage, and of monstrous exactions had destroyed the wealth existing in the Roman world, and the cessation of industry, agriculture, and commerce had prevented its renewal. Throughout the whole of Italy the rural population had been dispossessed, and the land, which had many times changed owners, no longer yielded its fair produce. Destitution was extreme; all men were reduced to beggary, even the senators. In Asia, the most opulent of the provinces, bankruptcy was universal, and Augustus was obliged to decree a revolutionary

measure; namely, the abolition of debts.¹ The taxes no longer came in; at the same time the needs of the public treasury increased. To prevent the governors from pillaging the provinces, Augustus had allotted to them a salary; to give the Empire security, he had organized a standing army of three hundred thousand men. We have no means of ascertaining the expense of the administration; but the annual cost of the army may be estimated at forty million dollars.²

Whence could this money be obtained? Seriously to increase the taxes in the exhausted provinces was impossible. There was but one method; namely, the more prudent management of the public resources. Under the Republic the contributions of the people had been moderate, but unequally distributed and levied in an arbitrary manner,—two evils which Julius Caesar, and later Augustus, had sought to remedy. We shall not assert that the Empire proposed to equalize taxes; but it at least sought to ascertain the quota of taxable property in order to distribute the burden more equitably. The ordnance survey of land commenced by Julius was completed by Augustus. Four geometers went over the entire Empire for the purpose of measuring it. Zenodorus completed the measurement of the eastern portions in thirteen years, five months, and nine days; Theodotus, of the northern, in nineteen years, eight months, and ten days; Polycletus, of the southern, in twenty-four years, one month, and ten days; and Didymus, of the western, in sixteen years and three months.³ The results of their labors, brought together at Rome, were arranged in order by Balbus, who, after having prepared a register of the measurements of all the countries and of all the cities, wrote out the agrarian regulations imposed upon all the provinces.⁴ Agrippa presided for a long time over this vast work; he prepared from it a map of the world, which he caused to be engraved under a portico,⁵ so that each senator designated to the government of a

¹ *Χρεὼν ἀφεσις* (Dion Chrysost., p. 691 b).

² See on this subject chap. lxxi. sec. 3.

³ In respect to this vast operation, see Ritschl, *Die Vermehrung des röm. Reichs*, and De Rossi, *Piante iconografiche di Roma*, p. 28.

⁴ Front., *De Col. ap. Goes.*, p. 109.

⁵ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3. Peutinger's map seems to have been an edition or a rude imitation of this map of Agrippa, with some after-touches.

province might examine in advance its resources and extent in what may be called the registrar-general's office for the Empire. "He receives," says Vegetius, "a description of his province, with indication of distances in miles, of the condition of roads and by-ways, mountains and rivers."¹ The lands were divided into different classes, according to their products and fertility, and each class taxed in proportion to its yield;² and the agriculturist, knowing what his debt to the state would be, might improve his land without the fear that he was laboring only for the advantage of the publican.³

This register furnished an excellent basis for taxation; and the quinquennial census decreed by Caesar (by his *lex Julia municipalis*) in the Italian peninsula rendered its allotment easy. The work could not assume the religious, political, and military character of the ancient census, which ended with the lustration of the whole people and the solemn sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia*; but it supplied information indispensable in a community where property determined the classes eligible for state and municipal office, and even modified the penalties inflicted for crimes. Throughout Italy the lists made up by the *duumvirs* of every fifth year, the *quinquennales*, were sent to Rome, and Augustus, desirous of maintaining the old customs, performed there the ancient ceremonies, although these were in reality but the concluding act of a work of pure statistics.

The same order was established in the provinces. Augustus divided them into financial districts, each placed under the care of an *adjutor ad censum*, who made up the list of the tax-payers of his district, or received the lists from the *quinquennales*, and after verifying them, transmitted all these documents to the *censitor* of the province, *legatus Aug. ad census accipiendos*. This high functionary of senatorial rank prepared a summary of these papers for whichever of the Emperor's secretaries had charge of

¹ Veget., *De re milit.* iii. 6.

² In Pannonia the division was as follows, — *arvi primi, arvi secundi, prati, silvae glandiflorae, silvae vulgares, pascua* (Hyginus, *Gromat. de limit. Const.* p. 205, 9).

³ *Augusti temporibus, orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda* (Cassiod., *Variar.* iii. 52. Cf. Isidorus, *Orig.* v. 36).

the general census, *a censibus*,¹ and upon examination of these lists the Emperor fixed the sum total of the tax, increasing or diminishing it according to the needs of the exchequer or the appeals for relief from the populations.

These agents, paid by government and closely watched,² levied only the direct taxes, — the land-tax and the capitation-tax. A different system was pursued in respect to the indirect contributions, which were still farmed out to the publicans,³ — who, however, were not able in this controlled service to renew the scandalous abuses of former days.⁴ The Republic, and after it the Empire, received along its frontier by land and sea the *portorium* upon all articles of daily use that were carried in or out. Besides this, every province or group of provinces had its line of custom-houses. Spain, Narbonensis, the three Gauls, Italy, Sicily, and the rest formed each a territory which traders entered and through which they travelled only on payment of dues; and, finally, in the interior of the provinces there were tolls on roads and bridges, and on entering cities dues for the benefit of the state or of the cities themselves. An article, therefore, transported to a considerable distance paid *portorium* several times, — a custom ruinous to trade, but very profitable to the treasury, and one which was kept up in France as late as the last century. The dead man on the way to his last dwelling who had to pass a toll-house must pay the *portorium*.⁵ This tax was two per

¹ Borghesi, *Opera*, v. 7 *et seq.*; L. Renier, *Mél. d'Épigr.* pp. 47–72; *Digest*, l. 15, 4, 1; Orelli-Henzen, No. 6,518.

² *Lex Julia de residuis* (*Digest*, xlviii. 13, 2). *Si quis fiscalem pecuniam . . . in suos usus converterit, in quadruplum condemnatur* (Paulus, v. 27, 1). *Qui nova vectigalia exercent, lege Julia tenentur* (*Digest*, xlviii. 6, 12).

³ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 6; xiii. 50; and *Digest*, *passim*. They acted under the supervision of the imperial procurators . . . *procuratores quatuor publicorum Africae* (Orelli-Henzen, Nos. 6,648 and 6,649).

⁴ It had been stipulated with certain cities that Roman citizens should be exempt from these dues; but there is no trace of such exemption later than the time of the Republic (*Livy*, xxxviii. 44), and I do not believe that the measure was general, for it would have ruined the cities. The military posts were beyond the line of the customs (*Digest*, xxxix. 4, 2). The tariff of Zraia has for title, *Lex portus post discessum cohortis instituta*. This tariff, established “after the departure of the cohort,” was very low; it has been regarded as an imperial impost, but was probably nothing more than a municipal toll.

⁵ *Digest*, xi. 7, 37. The Emperor, the officers of the palace, treasury agents, and soldiers were excused from the *portorium*; private individuals also had exemption for objects designed for personal use and for *instrumenta iūneris*, — carts and beasts of burden. The exportation of

cent *ad valorem* in Spain; two and half in the three Gauls, Asia, Bithynia, and Illyricum; five in Sicily; and twenty-five in the ports of the Red Sea for commodities brought from Arabia and India, which, as mere luxuries, paid a sumptuary tax.

The *vicesima hereditatum* caused all the landed property of the citizens to pass in the course of a few generations through the hands of the state.¹ With this multiplicity of tolls, and the customs and city-dues, there must have been levied in much less time upon trade a sum equal to the value of the whole annual traffic of the Empire; and as this traffic was immense, the *portorium* furnished to the state an enormous revenue. These two taxes alone,—that upon inheritances and that upon traffic,—are sufficient to explain how economical Emperors were able to accumulate wealth such as that left by Tiberius.²

Each time that territory was added to the Empire a census was made in that region of persons and property. This occurred in Judaea in the year 7 A.D., when that country, after the death of Archelaus, was added to the Syrian province, and in the year 27 B.C. in Gallia Comata, where civil wars had until that time prevented the undertaking of this work of peace. The same thing was done by Claudius and Trajan after the conquest of Britain and in Dacia. These transactions, which furnished authentic data in respect to the population and the amount of taxable property,³ were repeated at long intervals of time; at least we know of but five in Gaul from Augustus to Domitian. They served to verify the results of the quinquennial census, and to establish the number of persons belonging to the privileged class of *cives romani*.

We have seen⁴ that, instead of overburdening the provinces

certain articles was prohibited,—corn, oil, wine, weapons, and iron, to the end that neither food nor arms should be furnished to the barbarians.

¹ See p. 101.

² Pliny (vi. 26) says that commodities from India were sold for a hundred times their cost. The excess of the demand over the supply raised the price, but the duty also largely contributed to it.

³ Suidas, s. v. Ἀπογραφὴ and Αὔγουστος . . . τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν.

⁴ Page 101. The taxes of the provinces remained moderate. Cicero says that Asia scarcely paid her expenses; and according to Strabo (ii. 5, 8), the Romans disdained the conquest of Britain because they found τὰ τέλη (the customs) more profitable than would be ὁ φόρος (the tribute),—deduction being made of the necessary expense of the garrison required in the country.

to meet the new expenses of the army and the government, Augustus had constrained the citizens to bear their share of the public costs. The contributions that he required from them supplied the military treasury, so that he made this equitable division, — the citizens in part paying the army, which the inhabitants of the corn-growing regions supplied with food, while the provincials paid the expenses of the provincial government.

Each province had its *tabularium*, where the records of the census were kept,¹ and a treasury of its own (*fiscus*), where the quaestor in the proconsular and the procurator in the imperial provinces deposited the sums obtained by taxation. What was not expended in the province for keeping up the army, for the payment of salaries, and for the public works ordered or subsidized by the central power, was sent to Rome and divided, according to the nature of the tax, between the two public treasuries, civil and military, and the three imperial treasuries, — the *Fiscus*, the *Patrimonium Caesaris*, and the Emperor's private purse. Thus to the *Aerarium Saturni* went the revenues from the public domain and the senatorial provinces, the tax paid upon enfranchisements, the *bona caduca* and *vacantia*; to the *Aerarium militare*, the duties upon inheritances and upon sales; to the *Fiscus*, the receipts of the imperial provinces; to the *Patrimonium*, the revenues arising from what are called in modern times Crown lands; to the *Res privata*, the income of the Emperor's personal fortune, of which he could dispose at pleasure. In twenty years Augustus received in various legacies 1,400,000,000 sesterces.²

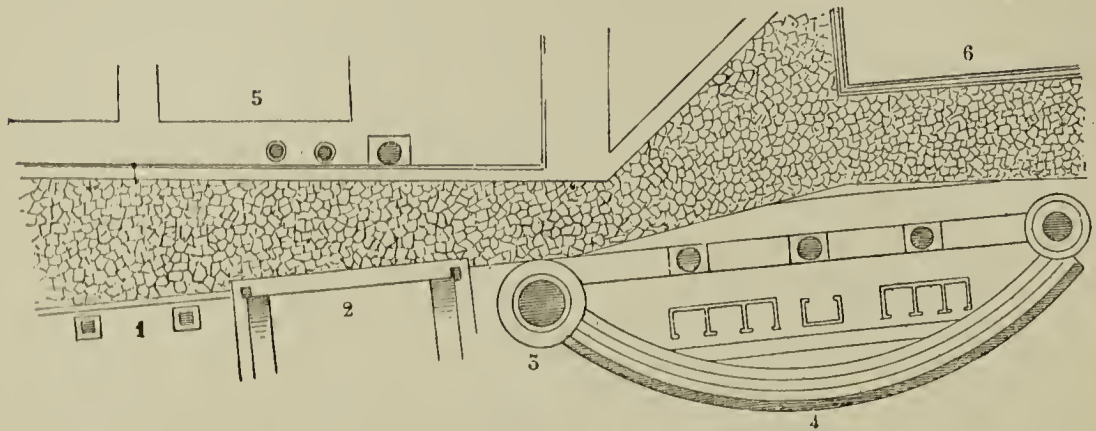
The financial administration of the Republic had been very faulty; that organized by Augustus was destined to be a great benefit to the subjects of the Empire until the time when, in its extremity, the Government made use of that administration, as of a suction-pump, to draw to itself all the wealth of its subjects.

Another reform is connected with this. The honest measure brought forward in 84 B. C. by Marius Gratidianus had not been

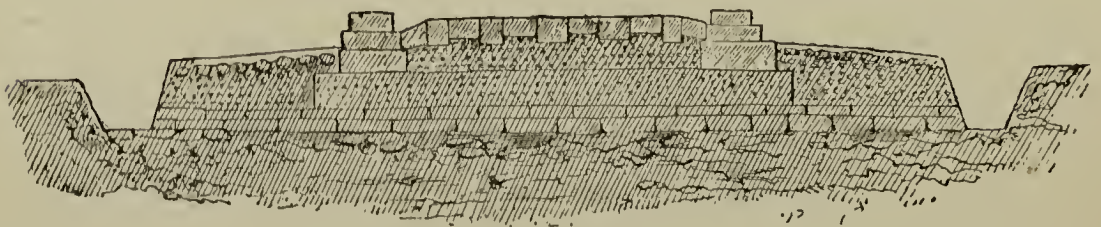
¹ Orelli, 155, 2,348, and 3,662.

² The Emperor's private domain was at his accession incorporated into the imperial domain (Vopiscus, *Tac.* 10), which, under the Empire, as formerly in France, was inalienable. The Thracian Chersonesus, the property of Agrippa, fell to the Crown at his death, and made part of the *patrimonium Caesaris* as late as the reign of Trajan (Marquardt, *Handbuch der röm. Alterthümer*, ii. 248).

carried out.¹ Sylla's *lex testamentaria* had made it obligatory to receive the public money at its nominal value, whatever might be its metallic composition.² Hence plated denarii were very largely in circulation even in the time of Julius Caesar, who had, however,

PLAN OF A ROMAN ROAD.³

issued an excellent gold coin, the *aureus*.⁴ Augustus withdrew the debased currency, and made the right of coining gold and silver a Crown right, limited to the imperial mints established at Rome and a few of the great cities of the provinces. As he had shared



SECTION OF A ROMAN ROAD.

with the Senate the administration of the provinces, so now he shared with them the monetary privilege, — keeping, however, the best part of it in reserving for himself the mintage of the precious

¹ See Vol. II. p. 634.

² Paulus, *Sent.* v. 25. Aristotle justly defined money as an article of merchandise. Paulus and the Roman lawyers saw in it only a means of determining the prices of things. From this incorrect conception arose all the monetary misfortunes of the Empire and of the Middle Ages, when it was believed that it was possible to give to coined money whatever value government might please to assign it.

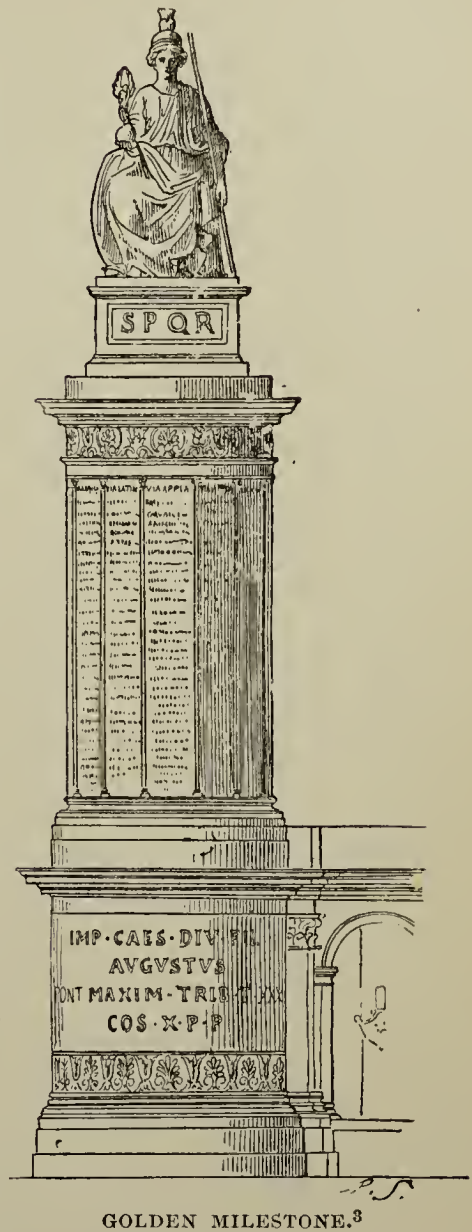
³ This plan, copied from Canina (*Via Appia*, p. 264), represents a portion of one of the roads passing the Forum. On one side the Julian basilica (No. 1), the arch of Tiberius (No. 2), the Golden Milestone (No. 3), and the Rostra (No. 4); on the other, the temple of Saturn (No. 5) and the temple of Concord (No. 6). For the explanation of the section, see the note on next page.

⁴ See Vol. III. p. 531.

metals.¹ The Senate had only the right of coining bronze. As to the municipal coinage, it was very soon suppressed, at least in the Western provinces.² The various populations, therefore, had for their dealings with each other a facility never before known, since the same coinage was now in circulation from one end of the Empire to the other.

By a decree of the Senate, a head of Julius Caesar was stamped upon his *aurei*; Augustus and his successors perpetuated this custom, thus giving us a magnificent monetary series, which preserves the authentic likeness of each Emperor.

The labors of registration had facilitated two other operations of extreme importance. The Empire being thus explored and measured, it became easy to lay out through it those high-roads regarded by the Romans as reins of government, which, with their code of civil law, are the great originality of this people. The Senate had covered Italy with military roads, had boldly struck a great highway through the mountains of Epirus and Macedon, and had united Spain with Italy by a coast-road along

GOLDEN MILESTONE.³

¹ This reform belongs to the year 15 B. C. The government being concentrated in the ruler's household, it was his slaves who coined the imperial money, *familia monetalis* or *monetaria* (Orelli, 1,711 and 3,226; *C. I. L.* vi. 239 and 298).

² In Gaul, Sicily, and Africa towards the close of the reign of Augustus, or at the beginning of that of Tiberius, and in Spain during the reign of Caligula (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* i. 2 *et seq.*).

³ Restoration by Canina (*Via Appia*, p. 264); see Vol. I. p. 278, the first military milestone of the Appian Way. The roads were of two kinds, — *Viae publicae regales, quae publice muniuntur . . . vicinales, quae de publicis divertunt in agros, hae muniuntur per pagos* (Sicul. Flaccus, *De Cond. agr.* i. 215). There were also *viae agrariae*. Leger (*Les Travaux publics au Temps des Romains*, p. 158) thus explains the construction of the Roman road: "An excavation was made as deep as was necessary to reach perfectly solid ground; this was then

the Mediterranean Sea; Augustus laid out those of Cisalpine Gaul and the Iberian peninsula. The example was everywhere followed;



VASE FOUND IN THE AQUAE APOLLINARES.

from the main arteries ramifications in infinite number were thrown off, binding together cities and peoples. The Republic had laid out highways for military purposes. The Empire did the same; but it had also in view the interests of traffic, so that the system of roads was developed into a vast network which covered all the provinces.

Augustus regulated another institution, which until his time

had remained in an undeveloped condition.¹ Upon all the roads leading away from the Golden Milestone of the Forum he placed

levelled and prepared, and either rolled or rammed. In some cases piles were driven in where the solidity was not sufficient. Then upon a surface of sand, four or six inches in thickness, or of mortar about an inch thick, was built up, as a rule, four layers of masonry. First, flat stones united with a very hard cement; second, a layer of concrete; third, a layer of finer, rolled concrete; and, lastly, the very solid upper layer, which varied according to the material furnished by the locality." The total depth of the construction varied, according to the location, from three and a half to four feet. The same author estimates (p. 248) that 80,000 kilometers of military roads were made, and must have cost for their construction about seven milliards of francs (\$1,344,000,000). The miles were reckoned at first on these roads from the gates in the wall of Servius. From the time of Augustus a mile was added for the distance from the Golden Milestone to the city gates, without displacing the milestones on the roads (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* xxviii. 388). A calculation founded upon the Itinerary of Antoninus gives us, in the Empire, 372 high-roads having a total length of 77,000 kilometers, or 18,000 leagues. The great roads were, like the Appian Way, fifteen feet wide, or, like the Valerian, fifteen and three quarters feet, having besides, a foot-way varying from a foot and a half to six and a half feet in width. The secondary roads had a width of about ten feet. (See Vol. I. p. 408 for the substructions of the *Via Appia* near Arieia.)

¹ During the Republic the official *Tabellarii* carried the despatches of the magistrates, and had stations on the military roads (Inscr. of the year 132 B. C., in the *C. I. L.* vol. i. No. 551). Publicans and private individuals sent their despatches by their slaves or freedmen,

at short distances relays of young men to serve as couriers, and later he provided vehicles to hurry information from the provinces.¹ These posts, which were kept up to a condition of great efficiency, facilitated communication through all parts of the Empire. A governor or a general, in leaving Rome, could know on what day he should arrive at his place of destination. The system of posts, established in the interests of government, proved serviceable to individuals as well, for there can be no doubt that, together with the official despatches, every courier carried private letters also.² Traffic, moreover, imitated, and had even forestalled, the imperial institution; for a long time persons travelling on business had been able to obtain along the main roads horses and vehicles for use on their journey or in the prosecution of their affairs.

The Emperor's post cannot be compared, as a public service, with the modern postal system; but the military roads had now effected in the Roman world the same revolution that railways have made with us. The mountains cleft by the soldier's pick, the rivers spanned by military bridges, gave opportunity for Civilization to advance, which, following these roads, penetrated into the most solitary retreats, into the very midst of populations which she was destined to conquer more completely than armies could do.

It is a curious fact that the Romans had, as we have, time-tables giving the distances from point to point along the road. Three silver vases, found in 1852 in the *Aquae Apollinares* (Bagni di Vicarello), beneath the waters of a mineral spring into which they may have been thrown as offerings, bear engraved the names of cities through which the traveller passes in going from Gades to Rome, with the distance from each to each in miles.

or by private *tabellarii*, whom they paid. (Cf. Desjardins, *Mém. sur les Tabellarii*.) The usage had been long established that the *parochi*, dwellers at the station where the travellers stopped, should give *quae debent, ligna salemque* (Hor., *Sat.* I. v. 46). French soldiers at their halting-places have a right to "fire and candles."

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 49, and Plut., *Galba*, 8. The expenses of the post, defrayed by the cities through which it passed, became a very serious burden to them. The subject is one to which we shall have occasion many times to refer.

² *Quum veredarii deesset occasio privato homini reddenda scripta commisi* (Symmaehus, *Epist.* vii. 14, and iv. 20; cf. Synesius, *Ep. ad Olympum*). Octavius had prohibited the publication of the Senate's acts (Suet., *Octav.* 36). But there were journals, *Acta*, which related all that went on in Rome (Suet., *Tib.* 5; *Calig.* 8; Tac., *Ann.* iii. 3; xiii. 31; Lampr., *Comm.* 15), and these journals were read with avidity in the provinces (Tac., *Ann.* xvi. 22: *Diurna Romani populi per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur*).

III. — RELIGIOUS REFORM.

IN the reign of Augustus occurred a phenomenon unique in history, — the formation, in a civilized country, of a state religion, which, introduced without violence, accepted without displeasure, and publicly observed without secret reluctance, yet affords no ground to accuse the people accepting it of disgraceful suberviency.

Augustus, like all his contemporaries, was superstitious, but he was not at all devout; Suetonius represents him as extremely irreverent towards the greatest of the gods. Religion was an instrument in the hands of this skilful player. We have seen his attempts to revive the dead gods of Olympus and to restore their former honors to the Lares.¹ In this restoration he did not merely seek to revive the early faith in the protecting Genii of the hearth and the cross-roads; he found therein the means of establishing a religious tie between Rome and her subjects of the Western provinces, whose forms of worship differed much from the Italian rites. The chief divinities of those nations yielded less easily than those of the Hellenized East had done to an assimilation with the gods of Rome. It was otherwise with the Lares, — nameless deities, without definite form or determined attributes, save the power of defending their worshippers. These gods answered to that idea of divine protection which underlies all forms of worship; and wherever a local or domestic divinity was found, he could without violence be called the Lar of the family, the village, or the town. It was an admirable stroke of policy to recognize them as the divine brethren of the Lares of Rome. Augustus paid honor to their altars; there the Roman, like the native of the country, offered the customary libations and sacrifices, and these provincial Lares added to their name that of the ruler who had opened to them the imperial pantheon. They were called the Lares Augusti,² — the latter word having a twofold significance,

¹ See p. 130.

² The decree of the Senate referred to on next page seems to have conferred upon them this appellation.

to be regarded either as a memorial of the Emperor or as an attestation of the august character of the Lares: *Augusto sacrum deo Borvoni et Candido*.

A new order of priests was required for this religion, at once old and new. By reason of the expense which the worship involved, with its sacrifices, sacred banquets, and games, its priests were selected from among the rich plebeians; and since almost all men of free birth had already their place in the curia, it was chiefly the freedmen in easy circumstances, by birth excluded from the colonial senate, who filled this annual priesthood. The Augustales in office, *seviri*, with their colleagues who had served previously, finally formed in the provincial city a class by themselves, intermediate between the common people and the municipal senate.¹

By this adroit combination the inhabitants of Pannonia and the Western provinces, whose forms of worship estranged them from the Latin and Greek races, saw their ancient divinities associated with those of their masters, and the priests of the old religion were thrown into the shade by the new clergy. This form of worship extended everywhere, and long preserved its hold upon the popular mind. In 392 A.D. Theodosius, proscribing pagan rites, as his predecessors had proscribed Christian ceremonies, declared it treason any longer to worship the Genii, Lares, and Penates.²

After the battle of Actium, when it became evident that the Roman world was henceforth to have but one master, the Senate decreed that the Genius of Augustus should be worshipped in the same places as the Lares.³ This law was not only obligatory in Rome, but throughout the provinces, where the Emperor took his place among the local divinities. In the department of the Allier have been found two bronze busts representing Augustus and Livia, which were placed as Lares in a small Gallic building.⁴ This is

¹ Orelli-Henzen, No. 3,939: . . . *Decuriones, Augustales et plebs*. At Narbonne the *seviri* were originally three knights and three freedmen (Orelli-Henzen, No. 2,489). Greece, Asia, and Africa, all whose religious institutions had been long since accepted by the Romans, had no colleges of Augustales, this priesthood existing only in Gaul, Spain, Illyria, and colonies beyond the sea, — at Philippi, for example (Heuzey, *Hist. de Macéd.*, p. 37). Italy had these priests for its Lares, and some of Trajan's colonies established them in Dacia (L. Renier, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inser.* vol. xxix. part i. pp. 68–70).

² *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. xii.: *Larem igne, mero Genium, nidore Penates*.

³ Dion, li. 19.

⁴ They are now in the Louvre.

proved past doubt by the inscription they bear: *V. S. L. M.* (*Votum solvit libens merito.*)

We thus behold Augustus admitted among the domestic gods of his subjects, the master of the world entering every house for



LIVIA (BRONZE IN THE LOUVRE).

the purpose of dispensing favors from on high. He was also associated with the great national divinities. For above the Lares and the local gods — the lower classes of heaven — the Western provinces had divinities who were the objects of a more general veneration. Augustus Latinized their names, put side by side that of the corresponding Roman divinity, and gave out to all the world that the two were but one, — for example, Jupiter-Taranis, Pluto-Teutates, Mars-Camulus, Diana-Arduinna, Minerva-Belisama, and the like; so that conquerors and conquered might alike, without conscientious

scruples, worship side by side at the same altars. But these foreign gods, subjects of Rome like their people, were forced to admit among themselves the supreme divinity of the state, the Genius of the Emperor. In the ruins of the immense temple which the Arverni built on the summit of Puy-de-Dôme, and the Alemanni destroyed in the reign of Valerian,¹ the following votive offering was found: *Num. Aug. et deo Mercurio Dumiat.*

¹ Gregory of Tours, i. 30.

The religious organization of the Empire is but imperfectly understood. Numerous inscriptions, however, which show the existence in the cities of a perpetual flamen,¹ reveal the intention of establishing a sort of religious discipline. This flamen, who must have previously filled all the municipal offices (*omnibus honoribus functus*), held the same position in his city, it is evident, as that of the pontifex maximus at Rome,—the same, too, that the Christian bishop filled later in the episcopal cities. Pledged to the worship of the local divinities, and also to that of the gods of the Empire, this functionary regulated the ritual and sealed the religious alliance of Rome with her subjects.

We discern the same idea of religious discipline in a singular institution which is described in the Digest.² August-



AUGUSTUS (BRONZE IN THE LOUVRE).

tus decided that only the Tarpeian Jupiter among the Roman gods should enjoy the honor and profit of the *jus trium liberorum*; but he granted the same right to seven provincial divinities,—the Didymaeon Apollo, the Gallic Mars, the Minerva of Ilion, the Hercules of Gades, Diana of the Ephesians, the Mother of the Gods

¹ A citizen of Lyons gave great sums of money *ob honorem perpetui pontificatus* (Orelli-Henzen, No. 4,020). The perpetuity was in the title, not in the office, which was annual.

² Ulp., *Liber singularis Regularum*, xxii. 6. The governors were all expressly charged to protect the domains of the temples and their immunities (Aggen. Urbicus, *ap. Goes.* 74).

worshipped at Smyrna, and the Celestial Virgin of Carthage. Legacies from the pious could be received only in the temples of these

divinities, who by this decree were particularly pointed out to public devotion.

The religious system of the Empire expands, therefore, and at the same time concentrates. It expands by the worship of the Lares; it is concentrated by this recognition of the superiority of a small number of national divinities. But a step farther was taken; monarchy existed upon earth, and it was established also in heaven by the institution in all the provinces, both eastern and western, of an official religion whose source was the Emperor. In the year 12 B.C., upon the invitation of Drusus, the deputies of the three provinces of Gallia Comata assembled at Lyons, and decided that there should be erected at the public expense,



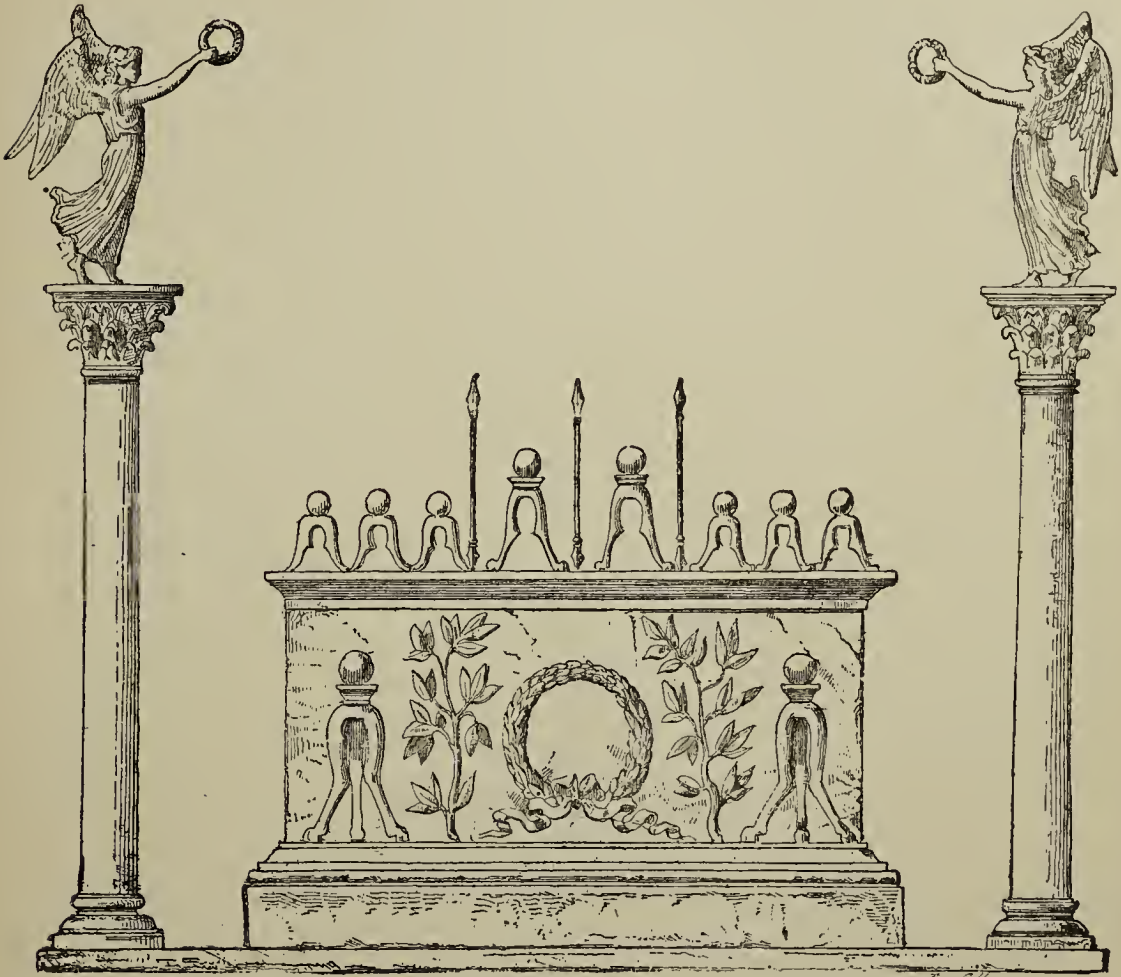
DIANA OF EPHESUS.¹

at the junction of the Saône and the Rhone,² an altar dedicated to Rome and to Augustus, and that around the colossal statue of the

¹ The Diana of the Greek Olympus is a shy, graceful virgin, goddess of the night, loving the woods, and forever pursuing her game with the golden bow, — a symbol of the crescent moon. Like the Athene of Athens, she had never been willing to know the joys of maternity. The Diana of Ephesus, on the contrary, the old Asiatic goddess, symbolizes the fecundity of Nature. Her body is covered with breasts (*πολύμαστας*); upon the cover which wraps her like a mummy are designed oxen, lions, etc.; she is the power of life (Strabo, xiv. 614; Pausan., iv. 31, 6). Statues like the above are common in the museums of Italy. The one here represented is in the Museum of the Vatican.

² The point of junction of these rivers has often changed. It must have been originally at the Place des Terreaux; in the sixteenth century it was south of Ainay; at the present time it is half a league distant, at La Mulatière. Excavations made in 1858 near the Place des

Emperor or of the Eternal City¹ should be erected sixty lesser statues, representing the sixty Gallic cities, whose names were to be engraved on the altar of the gods.² The work being finished, a noble Eduan,



ALTAR OF ROME AND OF AUGUSTUS AT LYONS.³

client of the Julian house, elected by the assembly and assisted by other priests of the Augustal worship, celebrated the inauguration of

Terreaux, in the former Jardin des Plantes, have brought to light the ruins of an amphitheatre and a mass of fragments which must have made part of a magnificent monument. Two enormous granite columns which adorned the altar of Augustus are in the church of Ainay. Monfalcon (*Hist. Mon. de la ville de Lyon*, i. 46) is of opinion that they are very nearly in the place where they were originally erected.

¹ The text of Strabo (iv. 3, 2), corrupt in this place, leaves it uncertain whether the statue was of Rome or of the Emperor. Before the battle of Actium there was already in Rome a temple consecrated to the Genius of the Roman people (Dion, l. 8).

² Strabo says sixty tribes; Tacitus, sixty-four; Ptolemy, sixty-three. In upper Pannonia the statues of the cities of the province were also placed around the *Ara Augusti* (*C. I. L.*, 4, 192, 4, 193).

³ Restoration by Monfalcon (*op. cit.*, vol. i. *ad fin.*).

the temple.¹ Every year, on the first day of August, the deputies of the provinces, surrounded by an immense concourse, presented themselves here and offered sacrifices and burned incense to the new gods of Gaul.

We know, without being able to give details, that the same thing occurred at Narbonne, at Tarragona and at Merida, and we are justified in saying, on the authority of Tacitus and Suetonius, also confirmed by very numerous medals and inscriptions, that all the provinces erected altars to Rome and to the Augusti.² Every year deputies elected by the states assembled in their capital cities, there to celebrate the grand festival of the Empire. The one having charge of the temple was called in the West *sacerdos ad aram*, or the *flamen provinciae*; in the East *ὁ ἀρχιερεύς*, a title which the Greeks employed in speaking of the sovereign pontificate of the Emperor, — *μέγας ἀρχιερεύς*. This high priest, the most important personage in his province,³ had a kind of jurisdiction over the clergy of the province,⁴ as the flamen in a city had over those of his own town; and this primacy fell as a legacy to the archbishop in the Christian Church. All the provinces, therefore, had a religious centre where the same divinity was worshipped. The old gods, humbling their pride before these new divinities,

¹ 1st of August, 10 B. C. The same day Claudius, the future Emperor, was born at Lyons (Livy, *Epit.* cxxxvii., and Suet., *Claud.* 2).

² In speaking of the temple which the Spaniards erected to Augustus in the city of Tarragona, Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 78) says: *Datum in omnes provincias exemplum.* Suetonius (*Octav.* 59) completes this idea: *Provinciarum pleraque super templa et aras, ludos quoque quinquennales pene oppidatim constituerunt.* We know there were temples of Rome and Augustus at Tarragona and Merida in Spain, at Tingis in Mauretania, at Pola in Istria, at Ephesus, Nicaea, Smyrna, Sardis, Cyme, Pergamos, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Aneyra, Milassa, Caesarea in Palestine, and other cities. Ephesus and Nicaea had temples of Caesar and Rome. *Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ . . . οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει ἐγένετο* (Dion, li. 20).

³ This he was as late as 359 A. D. (Cf. *Code Theod.* XII. i. 148.)

⁴ Waddington, *Voy. arch. en Asie Min.* n. 885; Perrot, *Explorat. archéol.* p. 200. The letters of Julian (49, 62, and 63) show this jurisdiction in the fourth century A. D. [Eusebius (*II. E.* viii. 14) says it was established by Maximin Daza, rival of Licinius. Maximin no doubt only revived an older institution. We know that in the earlier Empire the Roman college of pontiffs and that of the *xv viri sacris faciundis* had the control of religious affairs. Pliny in his Letters shows that a tomb could not be moved, even in Bithynia, without the authority of the pontiffs at Rome, and an inscription from Puteoli shows us that the election of municipal priests must be ratified, at least in Italy, by the *xv viri sacris faciundis* (Mommson, *I. R. N.* 2,558). This was a consequence of the *Sen. Cons. de Bacch.* (See Vol. II. pp. 304–305.) — ED.]

gave up to them their own most stately ceremonies, their largest crowds of worshippers;¹ and the adoration of Rome and the Augusti became the real religion of the Empire. The cities did the same as the provinces; each one had its *flamen Augusti*. In Caesar's time the scribes of Osuna swore by Jupiter and the Penates, the republican oath; in the time of Domitian, the duumvirs of Malaga swore by the divinity of the dead Emperors, by the Genius of the living Emperor, and by the Penates,²—by the local divinities, that is, and by gods unknown to the Capitol before Augustus.

We have used the word "clergy;" it can be applied to the priests of the Augustal cult only with an important restriction. These priests, who are primarily citizens, are ex-magistrates, *omnibus honoribus functi*, members of the curia, subject to the public authority which keeps the control of religious matters, the management of property devoted to the service of the temple, and of the funds obtained by collections made within the sacred edifice (*in sedes sacras*), and exacts the fines which may be devoted to defraying the expenses of the ritual. In the colony of Osuna the duumvirs were the persons who decided how many feasts there should be in the year, and upon what days these, the sacrifices, and other solemnities should take place.³ The flamen, therefore, was obliged to act in concert with the magistrates. Throughout the entire duration of the Heathen Empire, religious and political authority were blended, but in such wise that the former always remained subordinated to the latter. This was an essentially Roman principle of government, and later determined the action of the Emperors towards persons of different faith.

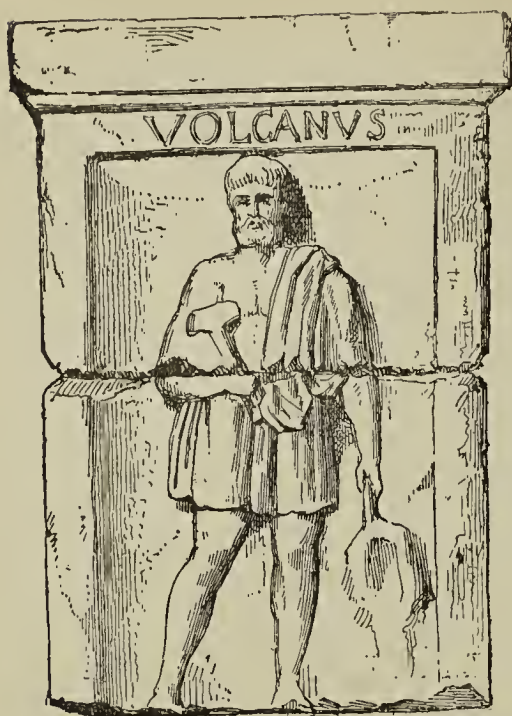
The religious revolution we have just described was not the work of a day, but it was very rapidly achieved, for Augustus had what is most necessary to a statesman,—time; during a period of forty-four years he was able to prosecute his designs. The Augustal cult, early established among the Ubii⁴ upon the banks of

¹ See in Tertullian (*Apol.* 35) a description of the feast of the Cacsars. The Christian orator shows, naturally enough, only the extravaganees of the public joy.

² *Lex Malacitana*, sec. 59; *Bronzes d'Osuna*, sec. 81.

³ See Articles 64, 72, and 128 of the Law of Genetiva, with M. Giraud's commentary (*Nouveaux Bronzes d'Osuna*, chapters iv., v., and vi.).

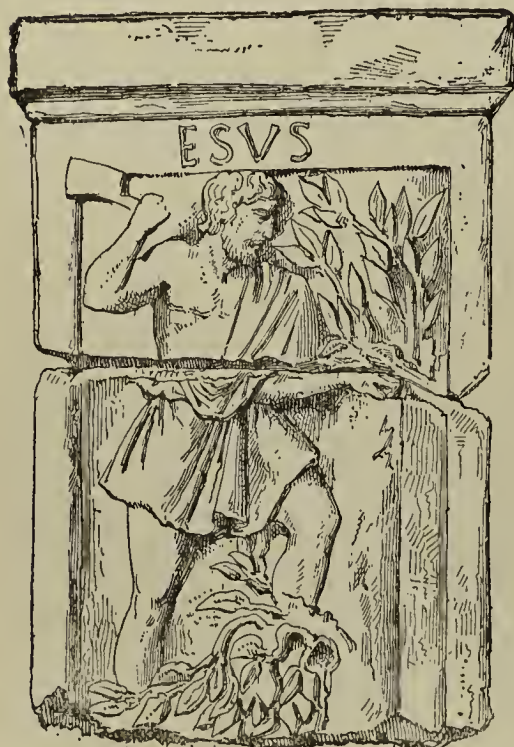
⁴ The son of Segestes, a chief of the Cherusci, was *sacerdos ad aram Ubiorum* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 30, 57).



VULCAN.



JUPITER.



ESUS.



THE GOD TAURUS.

FRAGMENTS OF AN ALTAR FOUND UNDER NOTRE DAME IN PARIS (MUSEUM OF CLUNY).

the Rhine, had already been carried, fifteen years before the beginning of the Christian era, into the regions between the Elbe and

Oder.¹ That it could go so far as this proves that it must have been very rapidly accepted in the old provinces.²

It does not appear that the people were opposed to these changes, made as they were without violence, and authorized by customs as well as by beliefs. Only the Druidic priests considered themselves persecuted,—and so indeed they were, but in a peculiar way. Augustus divided Druidism into two parts: he accepted its gods, and he rejected its priests. Against the latter he promulgated no decree; but in giving the Gauls a like municipal organization to that of Italy, he took away from the Druids, without appearing to concern himself with them, their judicial power, which passed over to the duumvirs of the newly constituted states. In establishing new sacerdotal colleges he rendered the earlier useless; and in applying to Gaul the general laws of the Empire, which forbade secret associations and nocturnal assemblies, he obliged those who still wished to practise their religion of terror to hide it in darkness and gloom, while the official religion attracted to its new altars the crowd always allured by a brilliant and cheerful ceremonial. In the name of humanity he prohibited the human sacrifices which early decrees of the Senate had forbidden,³ and permitted only slight libations of blood made by voluntary victims; and in the name of ambition he summoned to the worship of the gods of the Empire all those who desired to emerge from the obscurity of the province when he established the rule that the observance of the old rites was incompatible with Roman citizenship, and that a man must speak Latin before he could be admitted to the legions, the public offices, or the honors of Rome.⁴

¹ Dion, lv. 10.

² Even the worship of the *divae* was very early accepted by them. Less than a quarter of a century after Augustus, an Augustal priest at Avaricum consecrated a monument *pro salute Caesarum et populi Romani* to Minerva, and to *diva* Drusilla, — after the death of Drusilla, therefore, and before that of Claudius, between 38 and 41 A. D. (*Revue archéol.* December, 1879.)

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 5, in the year 97 B. C. It was in virtue of this law that Tiberius crucified the African priests who sacrificed children to their god Moloch (*Tertul.*, *Apol.* 9). Pliny, however, attests that in his time, for religious or political motives, men were buried alive (xxviii. 3). A similar execution took place under Julius Caesar, — probably as a religious expiation.

⁴ Latin was the language of the army (*Suet.*, *Tib.* 71), of the government, and of affairs; Claudius deposed the Greek judges who could not speak Latin, and took from them their title of citizen (*Suet.*, *Claud.* 16; *Dion.* xl. 17). In the Hellenized East, which had an important literature, persons of consequence learned Latin [though so learned a man as Plutarch

The Druidic body was not persecuted in the least, and still it received a mortal blow;¹ but its gods were saved by the ingenious combination that Augustus had effected between the religions of Gaul and of Rome.² The old Gallic altars remained standing in the broad daylight of the cities, and the Romans beheld a grotesque pantheon of horned and three-headed gods seated in the attitude



THE GOD CERNUNNOS (MUSEUM OF CLUNY).³

of the Indian Buddha, — strange objects, that would have been monsters in the eyes of the Greeks.

In 1711 there was discovered in Paris, under the choir of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, an altar consecrated to Tiberius by the boatmen of the Seine (*Nautae Parisiaci*); beside Gallic gods, whose names had been changed to Jupiter and Vulcan, is Esus cutting the sacred mistletoe, the god Taurus, TARVOS TRICARANVS, and the

complains of the difficulties in understanding it]; but they and the people preserved their own language. The populations of the western provinces, whose past did not protect them against the invasion of a higher civilization, became the pupils of Rome, and still speak her language.

¹ I have discussed this question of the suppression of the Druids in the *Revue archéol.* of April, 1880.

² Inscriptions have already brought to our knowledge fourteen goddesses and thirty-six gods of Gaul, whose names are given by Al. Bertrand in the *Revue archéol.* of June, 1880.

³ The lower part of this bas-relief is broken. The god was, doubtless, seated in the Buddhic attitude, the size of the head and bust making it probable that the legs were folded under him. Only four of these figures are given on p. 172. There are eleven others, and one inscription cut upon the sixteen faces of four great blocks of stone.

god Cernunnos. Upon the altar of Rheims, between the classic Mercury and Apollo, is carved, in the place of honor, a horned god, seated cross-legged, dispensing from a leathern sack the beech-nuts or acorns that an ox and a stag receive. The twisted collar (*torquis*) around his neck shows his Gallic character. Still



ALTAR AT RHEIMS.¹

more grotesque is the altar at Beaune, with its three-headed god, flanked by Apollo and a horned divinity with goat's feet. In other monuments the Roman element does not even appear. These three-headed objects are hideous, as in the altar of Beaune, or barbaric, like that at Rheims; but they rudely express a profound idea which the Celts brought from the East, where the Pelasgi

¹ Gallic triad. The three-headed god has divided; Esus-Jupiter is attended by his Roman family, Apollo and Mercury.

also found it,¹ — that of a Supreme God, one in essence and divided into three persons. Had the Armorican Abelard these Gallic *tricephalae* in mind when he conceived the Christian Trinity as a god with three heads?

The Greeks had reserved this Oriental tricephalic conception only for malevolent or infernal beings, — Cerberus and the hydra of Lerna [also the triple Hecate]; and the Romans, notwithstanding their Janus and their double-faced Hermes, were not more fond than the Greeks of these unnatural representations.² The influence of their conquerors brought the Gauls by slow degrees to abandon these monstrosities. But the extremely vital idea of a divine triad is preserved, and re-appears in the statuette of Autun, which bears above the ears of the principal head two small heads which are scarcely in relief upon the skull. All these gods had horns, — a sign of the divine power, which the Africans gave to Jupiter Ammon, and the people of the East to Alexander. They also wore the *torquis*, another mysterious symbol of divine command and military authority. In the lap of the god at Autun is one of them, adored by two marine monsters with rams' heads.

This religious reform, which had silently suppressed a national clergy and gathered into one system the religious beliefs of all the subjects of Rome, had been well conducted; but this worship of the Augusti amazes us, and the adorers of power appear to us ignoble indeed. We shall be less surprised and less severe if we remember that, in all ages, man, overwhelmed by the vastness of heaven, has been obliged to people that formidable solitude. In the Middle Ages it was virtue, or what was so esteemed, which led to heaven; among the ancients virtue was strength (*vis*), and in the Greece of Homer heroes were honored as demi-gods. In the Egypt of the Pharaohs, "where all was god save God himself," the kings called themselves children of the Sun, begotten by Ammon; and the people believed them. The Ptolemies went farther, aspiring to be gods during their lifetime. They were so; and the evil spread through Syria, Asia

¹ See Vol. I. p. 52.

² The Hermes *bifrons* of the Romans do not represent one god in two persons, but rather two distinct personages. (See, Vol. II. p. 36, the Hermes representing Faunus and Tutanus.) The Hermes which gives us the bust of Metrodorus (Vol. II. p. 271) bears on the other side the figure of Epicurus.

Minor, and even Macedonian Greece. Rome long resisted this; but the doctrine that the gods were but the upright kings of ancient times whom the gratitude of their subjects had apotheosized, had prepared the higher classes in Rome to accept without much



ALTAR OF BEAUNE.



TRICEPHALUS OF RHEIMS.

resistance the divinity of the Caesars, while the crowd was already gained over to this innovation by the ideas which had long been familiar to them.

In Italy the faith most deeply rooted in the popular heart and the most to be respected, the belief in the Manes, made the dead the protecting genii of the living. "The mind is a god," said Euripides, and Cicero repeats this.¹ All the rites performed

¹ *Animus divinus est* (Cic., *Tusc.* i. 26); and he adds (*ibid.* 27): *Caeleste et divinum ob eamque rem aeternum sit necesse est.*

around the tomb and at the domestic hearth, which formed the true popular religion, arose from this idea.

In the imagination of these men the *divi manes*, being purified by the funeral ceremonies¹ and becoming the object of a private or public worship, — a worship of memory, affection, and respect, — silently peopled the depths of the earth and the serene



GALLIC GOD IN BUDDHIC ATTITUDE (STATUETTE AT AUTUN).²

regions of the sky, whence they protected those whom they had left. "Donata," says an inscription, "thou who wast pious and virtuous, save all thy kindred!"³ And they were invoked as the Roman Catholic Church invokes the saints: *Illic invocatur*

¹ An inscription reads: . . . *opertis [i. e. rite sepultis] manibus, divina vis est* (Wilmanns, 1,225 c).

² The statuette is represented in front view and in profile, to show the little head over the ear, — a last trace of the ancient tricephaly.

³ Léon Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.* 283. Cf. Orelli-Henzen, Nos. 6,206 and 7,400: *Pete pro parentes tuos, Matronata*, says this latter inscription, with an error which an educated man would not have made, — itself a proof how much hold this belief had upon the popular mind.

Fructuosus.¹ Every man had his Genius; and this belief had become so habitual to the Romans that they applied it everywhere. Numerous inscriptions show soldiers seriously paying homage to the Genius of their cohort or of their post, and tax-gatherers offering libations to the Genius of the internal revenue.² Art took up the idea and ennobled it, as it does all which it touches. In a painting recently found upon the Esquiline, the City of Lanuvium herself assists at the reconstruction of her walls.³ In the family this faith rose to the dignity of a filial sentiment. "The Genius," says Paulus the lawyer, "is son of the gods and father of men;" and elsewhere, *Genius meus nominatur qui me genuit*.⁴ Three centuries earlier, Cicero had written: "We should regard the relatives whom we have lost as divine beings."⁵ The tomb was the altar whence the dead man passed into the number of the gods; *aram consecravit* says a sepulchral inscription.⁶

This idea of paternity and protectorship, essential in the conception of the Genii,⁷ was one of the religious elements of the Aryan race. The *Ferouer* of the Persians are the Genii of the Romans, and the Greek dead became divine in their Elysium. Upon her sepulchral urn Myrrhina has the statue of a god. It is easy to understand how a faith springing from the deepest religious consciousness of these nations should have led men

¹ *C. I. L.* ii. 5,052.

² *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1868, p. 109. In the camp at Lambese all worship was addressed to the Genius of the legion and the Genius of the camp, the eagle and the standard bearing the Emperor's likeness. These were the gods that the legion carried with them wherever they went. As for Jupiter and the other divinities, both Roman and foreign, their altars were outside the camp (Wilmanns, *Mém. sur Lambèse*, 1877, ap. *Commentat. philolog.*).

³ See the chromo-lithograph, Vol. III., facing p. 359.

⁴ An inscription in Narbonne reads: *Genio patrono* (*Revue archéol.*, May, 1879).

⁵ *De Leg.* ii. 9 [also for details of the will of Epicteta, Causer, *Del. Inscr. græc.* p. 77 (1877), and K. F. Hermann, *Gott. Alt. sec.* 16].

⁶ Orelli-Henzen, No. 5,087. Another is thus expressed: *Deae dominæ Rufiæ Maternæ, aram et lucum consecravit Macronia Marcia et ei omnibus annis sacrificium instituit* (Orelli, No. 4,587). Still another is in these words: *In hoc tumulo jacet corpus ejus spiritus inter deos receptus est* (Orelli-Henzen, No. 7,418; cf. also Wilmanns, 241).

⁷ *Genius deorum filius et parens hominum, ex quo homines gignuntur* (Preller, *Röm. Mythol.* p. 69). Censorinus (*De Die nat.* 3) thus defines the Genius: *Genius est deus ejus in tutela, ut quisque natus est, vivit. Hic, sive quod, ut genamur, curat, sive quod una genitur nobiscum, sive etiam quod nos genitos suscipit ac tuetur, certe a genendo Genius appellatur*. Censorinus wrote in the third century of the Christian era. I have quoted (p. 165) a decree of Theodosius which shows the worship of Genii still flourishing in 392.

hypocritically or sincerely devout to regard him whom the Senate called the Father of the Country as the Genius of the Empire.

A decree of the Senate made this a legal obligation, requiring that in private houses as well as in temples libations should be made in honor of Augustus;¹ and Horace, Ovid, and Petronius prove that this usage was rapidly established.² "At his evening meal the rejoicing peasant calls thee to his table; he pours for thee the wine from his cup, and addresses his prayer to thee and to the Lares." If we doubt the poet, we may read a curious inscription of the duumvirs of Florence, in the year 18 A. D., ordering wine and incense to be offered to the Genii of Augustus and Tiberius, and that they be invited to the feast celebrated in their honor by



FUNERAL URN OF MYRRHINA (LOUVRE).³

all the decurions.⁴ It was believed that the Emperor from beyond

¹ Dion, li. 19, after the death of Antony.

² Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5, 35; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 635; Petronius, 60: *Augusto, patri patriae, feliciter*.

³ Ravaisson, *Les Monuments funéraires des Grecs*, in the *Revue des Religions*, ii. 15. Upon this monument Myrrhina is of the same stature as Mercury, while the members of her family yet alive are of inferior stature. The illustrations in Vol. II. p. 362, and Vol. III. p. 117, have already shown the custom of ancient artists of indicating the divine character of their personages by loftier stature.

⁴ Orelli, No. 686.

the tomb watched over his people as a father over his children, and an inscription of the Arval Brothers called him *parens publicus*.¹

Another very early habit of mind, arising from the incapacity of these men to conceive a god in his sovereign greatness, had led them to submit divine beings to a decomposition. Each attribute became a distinct god. A goddess, Tutela, even represented in a special, and consequently surer, form the protection which each god should give to his worshippers.² "The image of Tutela is in every house,"³ says Saint Jerome. What had been done in the case of the divine attributes was next done for human qualities. Cicero speaks of cities where the virtues of Quintus, his brother, had been canonized and placed among the gods.⁴

With these habits of mind it was easy for the Romans, in thinking of the Emperor, to make a distinction between the ruler himself, who might have committed so many foolish and criminal

TUTELA.⁵

¹ Orelli-Henzen, No. 7,849. The Asiatics were so familiar with this belief that under Augustus the kings of the allies resolved to finish at the common expense the greatest temple in the world, — that of Olympian Zeus at Athens, and to consecrate it to the Genius of the Emperor (Suet., *Octav.* 60).

² Manilius, *Astronomica*, ii. 423–428: —

. . . Restat . . . noscere tutelas . . .
Cum divina dedit [Natura] magnis virtutibus ora
Condidit et varias sacro sub nomine vires.

³ *Isaiah*, 57.

⁴ . . . In quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in decorum numero collocatas vides (*Ad Quint.* i. 1).

⁵ Silver figurine in the British Museum, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1879, pl. 11.

acts, and that imperial intelligence, always the same, under different names, thanks to which a hundred million persons during two centuries never witnessed a popular insurrection nor saw the camp-fires of a foe.¹ The happy inspiration which directed this policy was regarded as the divine element which must be worshipped. In the temples of the new cult adoration was addressed, therefore, less to the Emperor than to the Genius of the Roman people, venerated under the double form of the Eternal City and the chief of the Empire, — not the worship of a man, but the religion of the divinized state.²

The Emperor resided in a given place; but statues of him might be everywhere, and the statue, representing the Genius or *Numen Augusti*, was an object of worship.³ “The statues of the gods,” says Melito, bishop of Sardes, “are less venerated than those of the Caesars.”⁴ Tertullian is often angry with the pagan Emperors, but for all that he places them very near God, — *A Deo secundi, solo Deo minores*; and in the middle of the fourth century, in the presence of triumphant Christianity, Aurelius Victor wrote:⁵ “Princes and the noblest of mortals, by the integrity of their lives, merit entrance into heaven and the glory of being venerated as equal to the gods.”

The words “equal to the gods” are too strong. The personage proclaimed *divus* was by no means completely a god,⁶ any more

¹ With the one exception of the bloody interlude of a civil war, lasting eighteen months, which followed upon the death of Nero.

² We must distinguish between the provincial worship of Rome and of Augustus, and the altogether Roman worship rendered to the *divi*. Each apotheosized Emperor had his *flamen* as Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus had long had, and were honored collectively, each under his own name, by the college of *sodales Augustales*, composed of the chief personages of the Empire. In the provincial worship of Rome and Augustus, — that is to say, of the state, — the reigning Emperor was honored, but without his personal name. It has been already shown (p. 164) in what way the worship of the *Lares Augusti* united the local religions with the official faith. Not all the Emperors became *divi*. Of the twelve Caesars first in order, there were but five who obtained the *consécration* from the Senate; and according to the *Actæ* of the Arval Brothers, up to the time of Commodus in 193 there had been but sixteen. (See E. Desjardins, *Le Culte des divi*.)

³ By the same process of analysis the Greeks made a divinity of Rome itself, and after the defeat of Mithridates temples were consecrated in Asia to the city of Rome (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 56). Before the battle of Actium there was at Rome a temple consecrated to the Genius of the Roman people (Dion, l. 8).

⁴ *Spicileg. Solesm.* ii. p. xli. Melito was a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius.

⁵ *De Caesaribus*, §8.

⁶ Referring to the apotheosis of Commodus, decreed by Septimius Severus, Dion (lxxv. 7)

than are the *divi* or saints of Christianity. But "he was more than man, a sort of incarnate and present divinity, to whom were due faithful worship and unlimited devotion."¹ The heaven of the heathen world was very near to earth; all these ideas still further lessened the interval separating the domain of men from that of the gods; and "the road to Jupiter," as Pindar says, was easily traversed by Emperors, many of whom seem to us to merit the severest judgment of history. Those who had been honored on earth were honored in the skies, unless the Senate had caused them to be dragged to the Gemoniae. "... We

INTRODUCTION OF A SOUL INTO OLYMPUS.²

have given back his body to nature," said Tiberius at the funeral of his adoptive father; "let us now worship his soul as divine."³

The worship that, according to these ideas, should be rendered at Rome to the dead Augustus, was paid in the provinces to Augustus yet alive, and no one was scandalized; for what these nations accorded to the illustrious pacificator of the world was no more than what the Senate under the Republic had accorded to obscure proconsuls, authorizing these officials to permit the erecting to themselves of temples by the people of the provinces over which they ruled.⁴ Cicero, who refused the honor for

translates the Latin word *consecratio*, which made a *divus*, by ἡρωικὰς ἐδίδον τιμὰς. The Pope in the Roman Catholic Church is also called during his lifetime *divus*, or His Holiness. [The distinction between the official vicar of Christ and the often faulty person of the Pope has also its analogy in what has been said above. — Ed.]

¹ *Id.*, liii. 16 : Αὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὧν ἐπεκλήθη. Cf. Vegetius, ii. 5.

² Bas-relief on the cover of a sarcophagus in the Borghese Villa.

³ Dion, lvi. 41. Varro considered it suitable that cities should apotheosize their founders [as Greek cities had long since done] (Saint Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, iii. 4); Cicero esteemed this custom wise (*De Consol.*, fragm.), and thought that virtuous men, *bonis studiis atque artibus exopolitos, leni quodam et facili lapsu ad deos, id est ad naturam sui similem pervolare*.

⁴ Cicero, *Ad Quint.* i. 1, 9; *Ad Att.* v. 21. Concerning the temples erected in honor of Flamininus, see Vol. II. p. 106. In Cato's time, Smyrna consecrated a temple to the city of Rome (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 56). After the war with Perseus, Rhodes placed in her principal

himself, was desirous of erecting one to his daughter; and a mere



PRIESTESS OF ISIS.³

prætor had altars¹ in Rome itself, as had also throughout the Roman territory the old kings of Latin legend, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus, the native gods of the country. We also apotheosize, but without having faith in what we do. For us it is a question of art; but for the ancients it was a matter of creed, and even after the age of scepticism had begun, most persons had faith in this. In the worship of the Caesars, therefore, were blended dear and familiar habits of devotion to the gods who gave security, abundance, and joy, — the family Lar or protecting Genius, and the Penates. These divinities, originally distinct, were now but one, the Augustal Providence, Σεβαστὴ πρόνοια;² and two words sum up his benefits, — *Pax Romana*.

All the Emperors, even the insane ones, were in the eyes of

sanctuary the colossal statue of the Roman people (Polyb., xxxi. 16). Alexandria made Augustus, after his death, the protector of sailors (Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*, p. 784). Athens honored his grandson Cæsar as a new god, and gave a priest to Drusus (*C. I. G.* 181, 264, and 311). A contemporary of Augustus, Labeo, had a temple at Cyne. Cf. Egger, *Mem. of Ancient History*, p. 78, and in the *C. I. G.* an inscription from Olbia, No. 2,087; from Paphos, No. 2,629; from Aphrodisias, No. 2,738; from Nisa, No. 2,943, etc. See in *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* i. 466 (duod. ed.), a dissertation by the Abbé Mongault on the divine honors accorded in the time of the Republic.

¹ See Vol. II. p. 634. . . . *Cui vicatim populus statuas posuerat, cui thure et vino supplicabat* (Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 18). See, for other examples, *C. I. G.* Nos. 311, 3,514, etc.

² Le Bas, *Inscr.* iii. 858.

³ Priestess of Isis, with the lotos-flower upon her forehead, and holding in her hand a vase

the people the personification of this divinity, and for two centuries the provincial writers extolled him with enthusiastic gratitude. *Vale, Roma*, says a Pompeian inscription; "Happiness to the



MITHRA SACRIFICING A BULL.¹

Emperor Augustus!" says another; and a third adds: "Our princes being preserved, we are happy for eternity."² Making all due allowance for official flattery, there is still to be heard in these

of lustral water. Statue in the Museum of the Capitol. [Note the beautiful draping of this figure, which is common in statues of Isis. The knotted ends belong to the mantle wrapping the figure.—Ed.]

¹ Bas-relief in the Louvre. This is the most important monument remaining to us of the Persian worship of Mithra in the Roman Empire. Mithra in his cavern (*spelæum*) sacrifices to Jupiter Sabazius the bull whose blood will give regeneration. Around the prostrate bull are a scorpion, a serpent, and a dog. To the right and left the Genius of the day, with lighted torch, and of the night with torch extinguished. Overhead is the earth with its productions; higher still, Aurora about to disappear, and the sun ascending from the horizon. Upon the bull the inscription: "To Mithra, the invincible Sun-God." This bas-relief was consecrated at Rome in a vault beneath the Capitol.

² *C. I. L.* iv. 1,974, 1,745.

sentiments an echo of public opinion, which in times less prosperous is wont to pronounce a different utterance.

The Romans were too strict logicians not to develop from the new religion all the latent consequences useful to their policy. The Emperor being *divus*, to swear by his name, by his fortune, or by his Genius became an act which the law sanctioned and made binding. Any one who should violate an engagement thus made was beaten with rods: *Temere ne jurato*; ¹ and this oath was required of all municipal magistrates.² The Emperor's statue had even a privilege which the Roman gods had not,—the right of asylum; and the slave who succeeded in taking shelter beneath it could not be torn thence;³ and if a criminal were put to death in any place where this statue stood, it was customary to veil the sacred face.⁴ Soon it became sacrilege to break this image, or even so much as to retain upon the hand while attending to one's person the imperial head engraved upon a ring. The town of Cyzicus, which had rendered so great services to Rome in the affair of Mithridates, lost its liberty in consequence of neglecting this worship of Augustus.⁵

The Emperor thus having his temples in all the provinces, his priests in every city, his offerings in the *lararium* of each man's house, the Roman world was encompassed with religious bonds that might well appear to be of a strong and durable character. The efforts made by Augustus to bring under control the thing most uncontrollable, — religious belief, — are a very masterpiece of skill. How easily, nevertheless, will the religious passion break the meshes of this net thrown over the human conscience! Men in public life will be able to content themselves with this cold and formal devotion, which gives no answer to the wants of the soul.

¹ *Digest*, xii. 2, 13, sec. 6. The Senate had already given legal force to the oath, "by the fortune of Caesar" (Dion, xlv. 6).

² On this point see p. 167. Cf. *C. I. L.* v. 172, and *C. I. G.* 1,933.

³ Labeo, one of the lawyers of Augustus, speaks of the slave *qui ad statuam Caesaris confugit* (*Digest*, xxi. 14, sec. 12). This right had been recognized since the year 42 B. C. in the *Heroon*, or chapel of Caesar. (See Vol. III. p. 601.) The Greeks had extended this right of asylum so far as to render the administration of justice impossible; the Romans, with their good sense in matters of government, seem to have allowed this right only in the case of the Emperor's statue, and only to the slave taking refuge beneath it. Dion (xlvii. 19) says this expressly: ὅπερ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν, except in the case of the asylum of Romulus, which they early rendered inaccessible.

⁴ Dion, lx. 12.

⁵ *Incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti* (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 36).

Women, children, old men, persons of simple minds, while paying to the Emperor the worship of gratitude, will seek hope and comfort at other altars. From the East, that inexhaustible factory of religions, will come mystic or sensual ardors that neither policy nor persecution can control. Isis and Serapis, the Great Mother and the Phrygian Sabazius are already in Rome; Mithra will soon be there, with his baptism of blood;¹ and already in Judaea He was growing up to manhood whose disciples were destined to bring to nought all this wisdom. It was to endure, however, for more than three centuries, — a very short life for a religion, but very long for a political institution. The official religion of Augustus, made up of old and new elements adroitly combined, was, in fact, only a great administrative measure.

IV. — THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY.

THE principal machinery of this institution was the provincial assembly, which, besides its religious character, had moreover in a certain measure a political character.

It has already been shown² that the ancients were not so ignorant as has been supposed of the representative system; that is to say, of delegated sovereignty.

Provincial assemblies were an ancient institution dear to all peoples of the Hellenic race; from the Adriatic to the Taurus we find it everywhere established. We again discover it among the Italiot populations, and Caesar attests that it existed in Gaul, where every year he himself assembled states-general of the entire country (*concilium totius Galliae*). In Spain and Cilicia he did the same; and before undertaking his reforms in the organization of the provinces, Augustus summoned all the heads of the states to meet him at Narbonne. In peaceful times these assemblies were festive occasions; to the religious solemnity succeeded secular amusements, games, and shows embellished by all the arts. Rhetoricians and poets, artists and philosophers flocked thither, and even traders; and this has always been the case. But the

¹ Under Claudius (Orelli-Henzen, No. 5,844).

² See Vol. II. p. 250 *et seq.*

chief men of a province, *principes civitatum*, would probably not remain many days together without discussing among themselves their affairs and wishes; and this, which it might be expected they would do, we know as a matter of fact that they did.



COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF GAMES
IN THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS.¹

One of these provincial councils, that at Lyons, has left traces of its history; and though they exist only in mutilated inscriptions, they suffice to prove that this assembly deliberated upon measures of general interest, since it voted, at one time thanks and statues to the Roman and Gallic magistrates, at another the indictment of the imperial legate before the Senate and the Emperor. For the support of the temple and its priests, for the erection of public buildings, for the expenses of the deputations sent to Rome, it had a treasury filled by means of a special assessment, its receipts, expenses, and litigations being in charge of regularly appointed officers. This assembly constructed an amphitheatre, where each deputy had his assigned seat, and gave feasts and games³ there, notably contests of eloquence and of poetry, whose singular regulations have been preserved to us by Suetonius. It appears that Augustus granted this provincial senate the same right that he had allowed to the Senate at Rome, — namely, that of coining bronze money; at least, it is believed that the pieces representing the altar of Rome and of Augustus, sur-



ALTAR AT LYONS ON A
GREAT BRONZE OF TIBERIUS
(REVERSE).²

¹ M DVRMIVS IIIVIR HONORI. The obverse, a diademed head; the reverse, AVGVSTVS CAESAR. Augustus in a biga drawn by elephants, holding a palm. Silver coin of the Durmian family. Many temples at Rome were consecrated to Honor, whom the Romans divinized.

² Comarmond, *Descript. des Antiq., etc., de la ville de Lyon*, pl. xxvi. No. 4. See also p. 166 of this volume.

³ In 1806 a fine mosaic, representing the games of the circus, was discovered at Lyons, under the rue du Rempart, two hundred paces distant from the site of the temple of Augustus. It is about fifteen feet wide and nine and a half long, and is preserved in the Museum at Lyons. The competitors wear only the four colors adopted before the time of Domitian, representing the four seasons, — green (spring), red (summer), blue (autumn), and white (winter). Domitian added to these four *factiones* the *factiones aurata* and *purpurea* (Suet., *Dom.* 7).



CHARIOT RACE
Mosaic from Lyons

SELLIER, PINXIT

mounted by tripods and having two columns at the corners bearing Victories, were struck by order of this assembly. The notion of a common country appears from the omission of the name of any particular state. The pontiffs at the national altar are called the priests of the three Gauls; the place where the temple stood, although in the neighborhood of Lyons, was a territory by itself: it was, like the District of Columbia in the United States, the common possession of the whole nation, while belonging to no one of the individual states.

The people of the provinces, therefore, at the altar of a foreign master recovered their nationality; also they found justice there, which is the excuse for their apparent servility. Rome recognized in her subjects as soon as she received them from her legions, the right of addressing to her their complaints. Before



THE THREE GAULS.¹

the conquest of Greece and Macedon was fully completed, the Senate received appeals from these peoples,² and numerous laws *de pecuniis repetundis* regulated the procedures and penalties. One provision of these laws is remarkable: that the provincials might be able to hold their governors in check, the latter were required to deposit a copy of their accounts in two cities of their province. Under the Republic, while there were some very conspicuous condemnations, there were also many scandalous acquittals and merely nominal punishments; and an accused person going into voluntary exile before sentence had been given, retained possession of his property. In the time of the Empire, when the deputies arrived in Rome, the patron of the province received them into his palace; he conducted them to the Senate, where counsel was assigned them selected from among the most eminent orators; and then began those memorable prosecutions of which Tacitus and the younger Pliny have told us. Both of these authors, who had been already consuls, were more than once appointed to serve on the committee of accusation. In the letters of Pliny we read of five governors prosecuted by the provincial deputation, of which number three were condemned; in what is left to us of the books of Tacitus,

¹ Denarius of Roman Gaul in the *Cabinet de France*.

² As early as 173 B. C. (Livy, xliii. 1, and xlii. 2).

appear twenty-two accusations and seventeen condemnations.¹ Ere long we shall hear Thræsea pronounce these significant words: "Our subjects formerly trembled before the republican proconsuls; now it is the imperial proconsuls who tremble before our subjects." And they had reason to tremble; for the penalty was not now, as under the Republic, a voluntary exile to the delightful groves of Tibur or Praeneste, with the preservation of a man's entire property, but it was the loss of fortune, and banishment to one of the Cyclades, or to the arid rock of Gyarus.²

The imperial government relied so completely upon the efficiency of the censorship intrusted to the provincial assemblies that Claudius made it a rule never to appoint a man to a new office until after an interval of several months, in order to leave time for complaints to reach the Senate.³ We have a list of gifts sent by an ex-legate to a deputy who, in a provincial assembly, had been able to defeat a resolution to accuse at Rome one of the legate's predecessors. The value of the gifts and the language of the letter accompanying them show the alarm which these accusations caused, and give ground for belief in the good conduct in office which they must have inspired.⁴

The people of the provinces called for rewards for their governors as well as punishments. Resolutions passed by a provincial assembly in favor of the legate recommended him to the Emperor for further honors,⁵ and Augustus, attaching much importance to these manifestations, took care to insure their sincerity. He would not allow the matter to be brought up in the presence of the magistrate who was to be the object of these

¹ Other examples are given in Dion and in Amm. Marellinus.

² The exile was sent to some island at least fifty miles from the mainland, unless, by special favor, he were permitted to reside in Sardinia, or in Cos, Rhodes, or Lesbos. The richest were not allowed to retain out of their fortunes more than 125,000 denarii (Dion, lvi. 27), and were not permitted to dispose of this property by will (*Digest*, xxvii. 1, 18, and Dion, lvii. 22).

³ Dion, lx. 25.

⁴ These presents were a cloak from Canusium, a Laodicæan dalmatic, a gold clasp set with precious stones, a pelt from Brittany, a sealskin, and twenty-five thousand sesterces, or a year's salary of a legionary tribune. The date given is 238, but the event took place about the year 225. [Sealskin was considered an excellent protection against thunderbolts. Augustus, who was much afraid of lightning, always wore one (Suet., *Octav.* 29, 90).—ED.]

⁵ Tac., *Ann.* xv. 20; Dion, lvi. 25; Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.* 22; Amm. Marcel., xxx. 5. Pliny the younger, in his Panegyric, devotes an entire paragraph (70) to the advantages of this custom in the just administration of the Empire.

expressions of gratitude, requiring an interval of at least sixty days after the expiration of the governor's term of office, before a deliberation on the subject was in order. A rescript of the year 331 refers to this twofold right¹ of commendation or censure, and the Digest shows that the Emperor replied directly to the assembly.²

The provincials made use of the formidable privilege of accusation only in the last extremity; but frequently they sent deputations to Rome bearing their requests (*preces sociorum*), and good Emperors regarded it as a duty of their office to listen to these prayers. Tacitus and Dion tell us of this in the case of Tiberius,³ and we may be sure it was so with Augustus and all who were emperors indeed.

We have no details of the ceremony of January 1st, which took place every year in the presence of the governor, for the renewal of the soldiers' and provincials' oath of fidelity.⁴ The former were doubtless represented by their chiefs, the latter by their deputies; and it was still another occasion of meeting and of coming into mutual understanding.

The function and usefulness of these assemblies has been long underrated;⁵ it is easy, however, to trace them all through the duration of the Empire.⁶ It has been forgotten that, with their

¹ Dion, lvi. 25, and the *Theodosian Code*, i. 40, 3.

² *Divus Hadrianus τῷ κοινῷ Θεσσαλῶν . . . rescripsit* (*Digest*, v. i. 37; xlvii. 14, 1; xlix. 1, etc.).

³ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 13; Dion, lvii. 17.

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.* x. 28, 44, 45, 60, 101; Dion, lvii. 8. See *ap. Wilmanns, Inscr.* No. 2,839, the oath of the Aritienses (Alvega, near Abrantes).

⁵ It may be permitted to me to remark that I called attention to their importance nearly forty years since, in the first edition of this work. M. le Procureur-Général Humbert wrote recently with much reason: "Liberty became the victim of the immensity of a state which no one knew how to transform into a representative government." But it will not do to exaggerate the function of these assemblies, and make the *sacerdos provinciae*, as has been said, "almost the governor's equal." The religious festival at which the pontiff presided had no more political importance than the French 15th of August under the Empire, or that of Saint Louis under the Restoration. A crowd gathers around these official ceremonies by reason of the display made on such occasions, and finds in it an opportunity for a holiday. The prefects always wrote to the Emperor, as Pliny did to Trajan, on the subject of the prayers addressed "with pious zeal" by all Bithynia "for the welfare of the prince." But the importance of the provincial assembly did not lie in this direction.

⁶ . . . *concilium quod apud eos est annuum* (Amm. Marcel., xxviii. 6, and in many places in the *Digest* and the *Theod. Code*, e. g. xii. 5, 2, and 1, 7, 9, 12, 13, etc.) It is even spoken of in the middle of the fifth century (Sid. Apoll., *Epist.* i. 6, and *Pan. Av.*; Le Blanc, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, No. 545 A).

right of accusing a guilty magistrate—no longer, as formerly, before those who were themselves his accomplices, but in the presence of a ruler interested in having justice prevail in the provinces, to the end that peace might prevail there—the provincial councils must have been a salutary check upon the imperial administration, and that to them must be ascribed a part of that prosperity to which every history of the early Empire bears witness. On one occasion, even, they perhaps saved the Roman dominion,—when in the time of Vitellius, at a moment when everything seemed to be breaking up, and Velela was inciting Germany to revolt, the deputies of the Gallic states, assembled at Rheims to decide whether they should take part with Civilis, summoned the Treviri, “in the name of the three Gauls,” to lay aside their arms.¹

When to these rights of the provincial assemblies we add those of the cities,—the popular comitia, the election of magistrates, the jurisdiction of the duumvirs, the unrestricted management of municipal affairs, even the organization, in case of need, of a city militia,²—we are forced to acknowledge that there existed in this despotic Empire, as it is called, many principles of liberty, and we understand the legitimacy of the imperial government in the eyes of the subject nations. We shall see in the course of this History how and by what causes these municipal liberties gradually disappeared; but we can even now perceive how, in the design of Augustus, these provincial assemblies, useful in the administration of each province, were to remain sterile as regards the general policy of the Empire.

The Romans, who cared not to interfere in the domestic affairs of their subjects, saw these assemblies without jealousy, and would without regret have allowed the Emperor to increase their importance. Julius Caesar would assuredly have done this,—he who so well understood that Rome must broaden her insti-

¹ It is needful, however, to avoid confusing this assembly at Rheims, under exceptional circumstances, with the regular assembly at Lyons. The former was of the nature of Caesar's *concilium Galliae*, and was convoked at the instigation of the partisans of Rome.

² Article 103 of the law *Genetiva Julia*. Cf., in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, the author's study on the *Tribuni militum a populo*. The question of municipal liberties is treated in chapter lxxxiii., entitled “The City.”

tutions as she had enlarged her empire, who had sent numerous colonies across the seas to Latinize the conquered, who had given to millions of foreigners the rights of citizens, who had invited many provincials into the Senate, and had decorated many of their cities with those monuments which Augustus reserved for Rome only. Caesar as sovereign would never have failed to utilize those assemblies from which as general he had been able to derive so much advantage. Augustus, satisfied with the services which they were able to render him in the government of the Empire, did not at all desire to make of them a political instrument. Intelligently developed, this institution would have furnished him the support which he nowhere found in a community shattered by so many wars and so many proscriptions, wherein nothing strong was now left, unless it were the fear of new proscriptions and new wars. In all the Empire he saw but Rome, and in Rome only the Senate, which he would have gladly reduced to the number of three hundred members,¹ for the purpose of concentrating the government of the world in the hands of the Roman aristocracy, now docile to his authority. As for the deputies of the provinces, all that he asked from them was merely to come and burn incense upon his altar.²

V. — ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCES.

OUT of the eighteen years which followed the battle of Actium, Augustus spent at least eleven in the provinces; and these eleven years he employed in bringing order out of the chaos which had been produced by a half-century of revolutions.³

¹ Dion, liv. 14.

² The successors of Augustus long manifested the same distrust of the members of the provincial aristocracy. Those aspiring to public office were obliged to employ a third of their fortune in buying real estate in Italy (Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 19); and when they obtained a seat in the Senate they were obliged to come to reside in Rome, — a stipulation in itself not unreasonable; but if they desired to revisit their Penates and their fellow-citizens for ever so brief a stay, a permission from the Emperor was required.

³ From September 31 B. C. to August 29 B. C. he was in the East; from the close of 27 to the close of 24 he was in Gaul and Spain. The winter of the year 22 was spent in Sicily; the year 21 in Greece and at Samos; the year 20 in Asia, Bithynia, and Syria; the

Gaul and Spain occupied him first. He went thither at the close of the year 27 B. C., after having caused all the armies and half of the provinces to be legally conferred upon himself at Rome, where he left Agrippa consul.

He went, men said, to carry out Caesar's designs against the Britons, and poetry already sang his victories at the utmost limits of the world.¹ But Augustus judged that in this expedition he should gain little and risk much; he therefore left the Britons free. Strabo considers the decision wise. "It is estimated," he says, "that the duties paid by these islanders upon our commodities exceed the amount of an annual tribute."² This policy was successful; the British chiefs sent to the Emperor respectful embassies, and offerings to be consecrated in the Capitol. The time that he would have wasted in this useless conquest Augustus occupied in organizing what had already been conquered.

Notwithstanding Agrippa's victories in the year 37, Gaul had remained discontented, at least in the remoter parts of the country, — in Aquitania, protected by the Pyrenees as by a fortress, and in Belgium, where the neighborhood of the Germans kept alive an agitation. As soon as he was rid of Antony, Octavius had sent into Gaul three armies, which put an end to these last struggles of dying liberty (29 B. C.). The first conquest, that of the soil, was completed. There remained to be made a second and more difficult one, — that of minds and of customs; for the social organization which had so gallantly borne the struggle was still unimpaired, and the Druids continued to attract the crowd to their judicial tribunals, to their schools, and to their sanguinary sacrifices. But if Augustus was not the man of force, he was the man of skill; he had not conquered the Gauls, but he was able to transform them. He did three things, in which appear that patient address, that art of pacifying and extinguishing which made up his genius, — he established administrative divisions so conceived as to break up

year 19 at Samos and Athens, returning to Rome the 12th October. In the middle of the year 16 we find him in Gaul, and he did not return to Rome until the middle of the year 13. Many times during the years 10 and 8 he revisited Gaul. The reorganization of the provinces is the phrase forever on the lips of Dion and Zonaras in accounting for all these journeyings.

¹ Hor., *Carm.* I. xxv.; IV. i. 149.

² Strabo, iv. 200.

the old federations or clientships; he distributed privileges unequally through these provinces for the sake of creating different interests among the Gauls, as the Senate had previously done in Italy after the war of independence; lastly, he undertook the task of converting these followers of the Druids to the Roman polytheism. How far he succeeded in this attempt we have just seen.

Narbonensis, long since submissive, preserved its former limits, but received numerous colonists in many of its cities; and the frontier of Aquitania was carried forward to the Loire, for the purpose of massing a considerable body of the Gallic peoples in the West to serve as a counterpoise to the compact mass of the Aquitanian tribes. In the East, all the left bank of the Rhine, from the headwaters of the river down to its mouth, was placed under the same military commandant; later, Augustus made of this two provinces. Celtica, reduced by one half, was called from that time Lugdunensis.¹

In the three provinces of Gallia Comata "he made," says one of his historians, "a census of the people, and ordered their way of living and their political condition."² In the case of some tribes, he changed the boundaries of their territory³ and the name or site of their capital city, in order to efface the habits and memories of their time of independence. Whole hordes had been exterminated, and he gave their lands to neighboring states; those weakened by wars were united to others; those who had been in a condition of clientship were made independent; and what remained of the three hundred nations mentioned by Josephus, Appian and Plutarch were divided into sixty municipal districts. This was about the number of nations which had been conspicuous in the history of ancient Gaul, so that Augustus, according to his

¹ It may be inferred from a passage in Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 41) that Germania Superior and Germania Inferior were already formed in the fourth or fifth year of Tiberius; and in speaking of a priesthood *ad aram Ubiorum*, in the year 9 A. D., the same writer (*Ann.* i. 39, 57) authorizes us to believe that this organization dates from the reign of Augustus.

² Dion, liii. 22: . . . τὸν βίον τήν τε πολιτείαν.

³ He made these changes even in the case of old Roman cities . . . *urbes* . . . *numero civium ampliavit quasdam et finibus* (Hyginus, *Gromat. de Limit. const.*, pp. 117 and 119). With much more reason must he have pursued this course in Gaul. These changes were a principle of the Roman administration: it had also been applied in Asia . . . Ῥωμαῖοι ἐφ' ὧν ἤδη καὶ τὰς διαλέκτους καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀποβεβλήκασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγονότος ἐτέρου τινὸς μερισμοῦ τῆς χώρας (Strabo, xii. 4, 6).

custom, had the appearance of changing nothing, while in reality he had changed everything.¹ In regard to the administration of justice, the three provinces were, like the others, divided into jurisdictions (*conventus juridici*).

Augustus did not pour new colonies into Long-haired (*Comata*) Gaul, for the reason that he did not wish to depopulate Italy in order to Latinize Gaul. He preferred to concentrate Roman life in Narbonensis as in a focus, whence it might radiate into Celtica. But what he could not do by means of colonists he did personally by contracting engagements with a multitude of the cities, which took his name, and whose inhabitants became his clients.

He left to the Aedui, Lingones, and Remi the title of allies of the Roman people, and granted the same honor also to the Carnutes, in order to have on the south, north, and east, three powerful tribes interested in the maintenance of the new social order. To ten others he gave permission to preserve their laws (*civitates liberae*), and the jurisdiction of their own magistrates. To the Ausci, the most powerful nation of Aquitania, to the Conveni (S. Bertrand de Comminges), who held the central passes of the Pyrenees, and to many tribes in Narbonensis, he gave that Latin franchise which was a preliminary to Roman citizenship. This last was considered an enviable privilege, since it conferred equality with the conquerors; but of this Augustus was sparing, conferring the honor only upon individuals, to whom it brought distinguished consideration and municipal offices.

Thus Augustus made, to nations and to individuals, different conditions. He pointed out to the self-interest of the provincials the manner in which imperial favor might be gained, and by exercising an unequal pressure upon Gaul, he prevented the formation of a common bond of hate against the foreign rulers.

He augmented the tribute, but divided it more equitably; and, for the purpose of maintaining order, declared the sixty Gallic peoples constituted as states (*civitates*) responsible for any tumults that might occur in their cities or cantons (*pagi*).

He gave them as capital a strictly Roman city, Lyons, which Munatius Plancus had recently founded, on the hill of Fourvières,

¹ In respect to these sixty Gallic cities, see Desjardins, *La Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. pp. 357-501.

for the exiles from Vienna.¹ Lying near the marshy confluence of the Saône and the Rhone, almost at the point where four provinces met, and adjacent to the Alps, Lyons was admirably situated to become the most important of the trans-alpine cities. Having no past, no record, no patriotic ties with the Gallic peoples, it was fitted to receive the Roman spirit and to spread it abroad through Gaul. Augustus strengthened the colony of Plancus, and made it the centre of Roman administration in Gallia Comata.² He established there a mint for the imperial coinage of gold and silver, and a cohort was always in garrison there for the protection of the numerous agents in the imperial service.³ It was, in fact, a second capital to the Empire. Agrippa hastened to lay out from its gates four great roads,

COPIA.⁴

¹ A Gallic village, Condate, occupied the point of land at the junction of the Saône and the Rhone. It was not absorbed by Lugdunum until the fourth century. This territory was abstracted from the country of the Segusiavi by Drusus when he built there the temple of Rome and Augustus. (Cf. *Descr. du pays des Ségusiaves*, by A. Bernard, 1858.) Plancus founded another colony, Rauraca (Augst, near Basle).

² Strabo says (iv. 6, 11): "It stands like a citadel in the centre of the country." Lyons has, unfortunately, no Roman ruins whatever, save a few fragments of wall, some columns and isolated arches of the aqueduct which brought it water from Mont Pilat. It is supposed that the church at Fourvières occupies the site of the Forum, and the hospital of Antiquaille that of the imperial palace. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville translates *Lugdunum*, the fort of Lugu. This Lugu was the god of traders, and was identified by Julius Caesar with Mercury; but the word *luy* also means raven, and this etymology is the one adopted at Lyons. (See Vol. III. p. 578, n. 1.)

³ An inscription says, "for the guard of the mint," — *cohors ad monetam* (*Rev. épigr. du midi de la France*, No. 6, p. 95). This mint, which has lasted to our times, put an end to the municipal coinage which Gaul had preserved since the time of Julius Caesar.

⁴ Statuette found at Lyons in 1846, representing the tutelary divinity of the city, symbolized by a double cornucopia; or perhaps the personification of the city itself (Comarmond, *Descr. des Ant.*, etc., pl. 9. No. 101).

—over the mountains of Auvergne, by Limoges and Saintes to the ocean; by Autun, Sens, and Beauvais to the English Channel; by Châlons, Langres, Metz, and Coblenz, to the banks of the Rhine; and lastly, through the valley of the Rhone, towards Marseilles and the Pyrenees.

But above all it was important to control the routes between Gaul and Italy. A highway already followed the sea-shore from Genoa to Marseilles, and the Ligurian mountaineers dwelling above this road were watched by a Roman officer of the equestrian order, who was sent out to them annually. In the Cottian Alps reigned a petty prince, who, seeing himself threatened, solicited the friendship of Rome and caused his people to open the great road of Mont Cenis. The Emperor had no disposition to despoil so docile a prince; Cottius preserved his sterile kingdom and his little capital, Segusio (Susa), where he built an arch of triumph in honor of Augustus. A new colony was, however, prudently established on the slopes of his mountains, *Augusta Vagiennorum* (Saluces); *Augusta Taurinorum* (Turin) was already in existence,

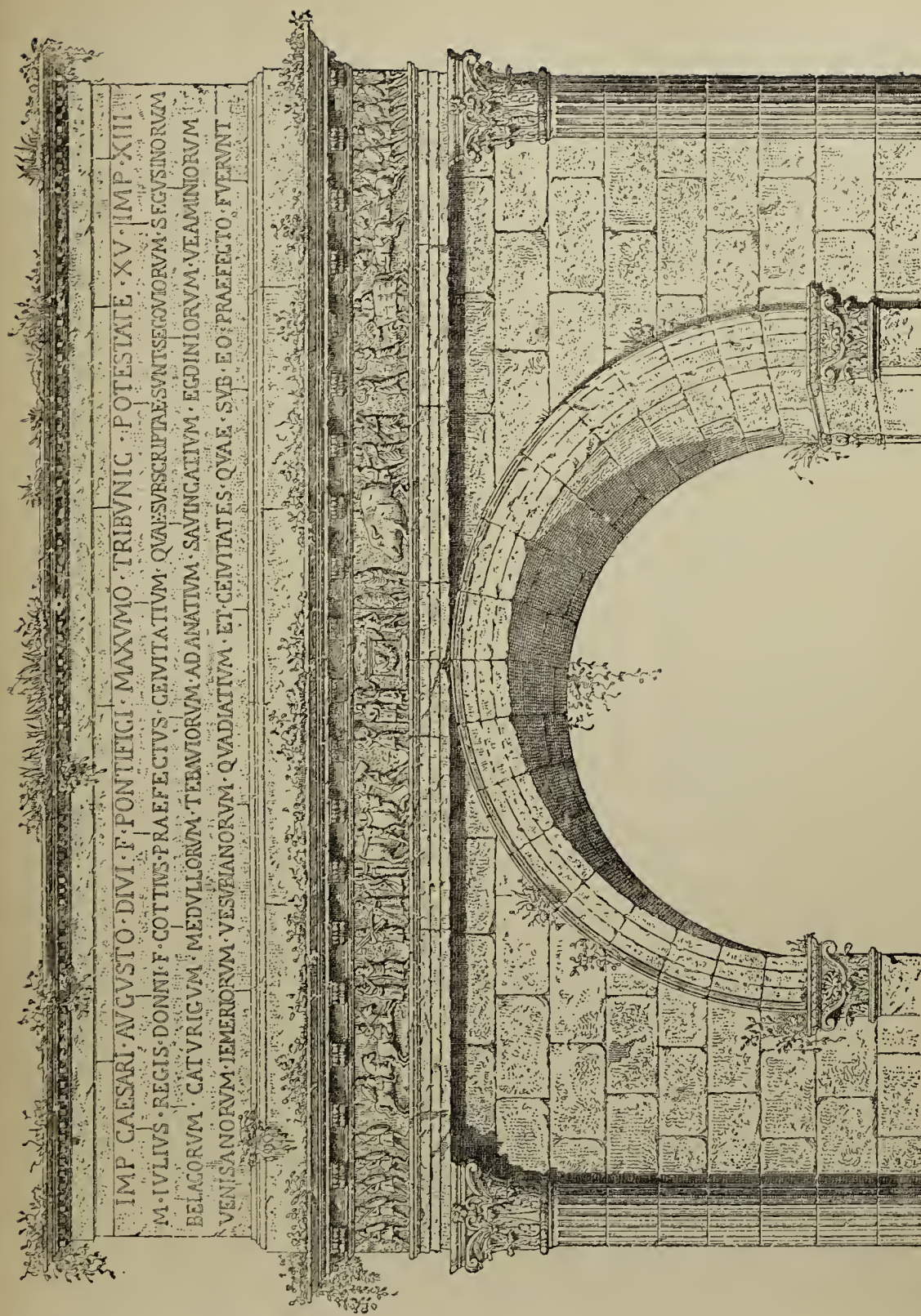
and was reinforced. Higher up dwelt in the valley of Aosta the warlike tribe of the Salassi. They had already been deprived of their gold mines, situated in the lower country, and the colony of Eporedia had been established to keep them in check.



COPIA, UPON A COPPER AS, COINED AT LYONS.¹

But, taking advantage of their position on the higher ground, they turned the current of streams, or sold water to those who worked the mines. Once even they pillaged the Emperor's treasure, and under pretext of repairing roads and bridges, rolled down great stones upon the troops passing below. Terentius Varro attacked them in 25 B. C., and forty-four thousand Salassi, the entire nation, were sold at auction, the condition being imposed

¹ IMP. CAESAR. DIVI F. DIVI IVLI. Heads of Julius Caesar and Augustus, back to back, separated by a palm. On the reverse, COPIA and the prow of a vessel; above, the globe and a milestone. Cf. De Sauley, *Sys. mon. de la rép. rom. à l'ép. de J. César. Monnaies posthumes de César*, pl. ix. fig. 4.



Hachette et C^{ie}

Imp. J. Bestault aîné.

UPPER PART OF THE ARCH OF SUSA.

upon the purchasers that they should carry their slaves away into distant countries and enfranchise none of them for twenty years. Three thousand praetorians were established at *Augusta Praetoria* (Aosta), and two roads immediately laid out thence to Lyons, across the Great and the Little St. Bernard. The Roman capital of Gallia Comata was henceforward not more than two or three days' march from Italy, whither its numerous merchants carried the commodities of Gaul; and the fortunate city was able to assume the surname of *Copia* (Abundance), marking its prosperity. An aqueduct, eighty-four kilometers in length, brought to it from Mont Pilat the pure waters of the Gier and the Janon.

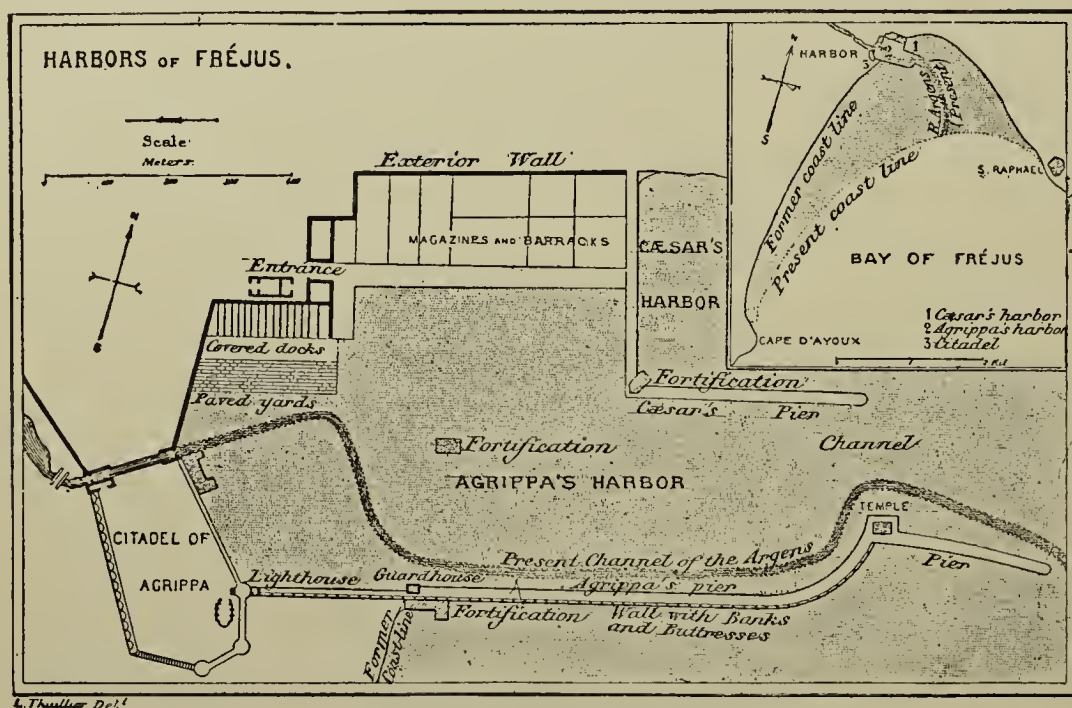
In 14 B. C. the Ligurians made their submission. Augustus laid out a road along their sea-coast; and at a point where it crosses a spur of the Maritime Alps, behind Monaco, he erected a monument, whose huge ruins yet exist, to announce far over the sea that the sailor could without fear approach this once dangerous but now peaceful coast.

We have noticed the skilful measures taken by Augustus to effect the moral conquest of Gaul; they were successful. Habits changed, and memories were effaced; not everywhere, certainly, nor in the hearts of all, but sufficiently for the old race, after a few generations, to present a new physiognomy. A contemporary, Strabo, testifies to the efforts of the Gauls to advance in the direction indicated by Augustus. "Everywhere," he says, "they are breaking up the ground and cultivating it."¹ And while the poor thus labored in the fields, the young nobles went away to the Roman camps, where, serving as auxiliaries, they soon lost by contact with the legionaries whatever Gallicism had been left to them; or else they gathered in the schools, and intellectual rivalries took the place of those warlike contests now impossible. The Gallic cities, taking the lead even of Rome herself, were the first in Europe to establish public lectures by salaried professors. The cities of Narbonensis set the example; the others followed, and Gaul was seen sending into Italy masters of Latin eloquence.

To protect her against foreign invasion, and at the same time to deprive her of all hope of help from abroad, eight legions

¹ Strabo, iv. 1, 5.

and a flotilla guarded the Rhine. In a few years grew up on the bank of this river more than fifty strongholds, which afterwards became cities. Vigorous expeditions across the river drove the Germans back into the depths of their forests, or compelled whole tribes to come over to the left bank. Tiberius established forty thousand Gugerni at one time on the Lower Rhine in what is now Guelderland. His brother Drusus joined the Yssel by a canal to the Rhine, and imposed upon the Frisii an annual tribute of ox-hides. In the south the fleet of Fréjus guarded the frontier of the sea, and protected against the pirates the commerce of Marseilles and Narbonne.



HARBORS OF FRÉJUS.

Augustus made a second journey into Gaul, nine years after the first. He had appointed a Gaul, named Licinius, to levy the taxes there. This Licinius, who had formerly been a slave, saw in his position nothing but an opportunity to make his fortune, and made it with the arrogance of a man who felt himself supported by eight legions. He required the tax to be paid in twelfths, one instalment a month, — a not unreasonable method, and one often employed in our own times. But he had the audacity to make the year consist of fourteen months, of which two were for himself, and the other twelve for the Emperor.

On the arrival of Augustus the Gauls besought him to do justice in the case. The procurator, a man of intelligence, perceived his danger; inviting Augustus to his house, he exhibited to him the treasures he had extorted from his countrymen, and said to him: "All this have I amassed for you and for the Romans; the Gauls would have employed it against Rome. Take it, it is yours." Augustus accepted the offering; and the Gauls, seeing their enemy despoiled, were able still to believe the Emperor just. It was, however, but half justice; and Augustus narrowly escaped paying with his life for this complicity in crime. A Gaul of illustrious birth swore to take his life, and followed him among the Alps, intending to approach him at some dangerous portion of the road and push him down a precipice; but the Emperor's tranquil countenance so impressed the Gaul that he confessed himself unable to carry out his design.

From Gaul, Augustus went over into Spain, where similar labors awaited him (26 B. C.). The Asturians and Cantabrians, intrenched among their mountains, defied the Roman power. Though attacked both by sea and land, they were not subjugated till the following year by the lieutenant Antistius; but this was only a temporary submission, for three years later it was necessary to fight with them again. Agrippa was the Roman general who finally, in the year 19 B. C., was able to overcome their resistance, being more successful by his moderation than his predecessors had been by their severities. He compelled the Spanish tribes to quit their mountains, where the very air inspires freedom, and established them in the plains under the control of imperial officers. A tradition of this obstinate resistance comes down to us in a Basque chant, probably very ancient, though not of the date of this war: "From Rome strangers oppress us, but Biscay raises her song of victory. Octavius, conqueror of the world, Lecobidi, the Biscayan; by sea and by the land he lays siege to us; his are the arid plains, ours are the woods and caves among the hills. But, O chest of food, scantily art thou filled! Their cuirasses are strong, but active are the undefended limbs. Five years, day and night without ceasing, the siege endured. Of ours when they slew one, fifteen they lost; they losing many, we few. In the end, we made alliance. Upon the Tiber the city is seated afar;

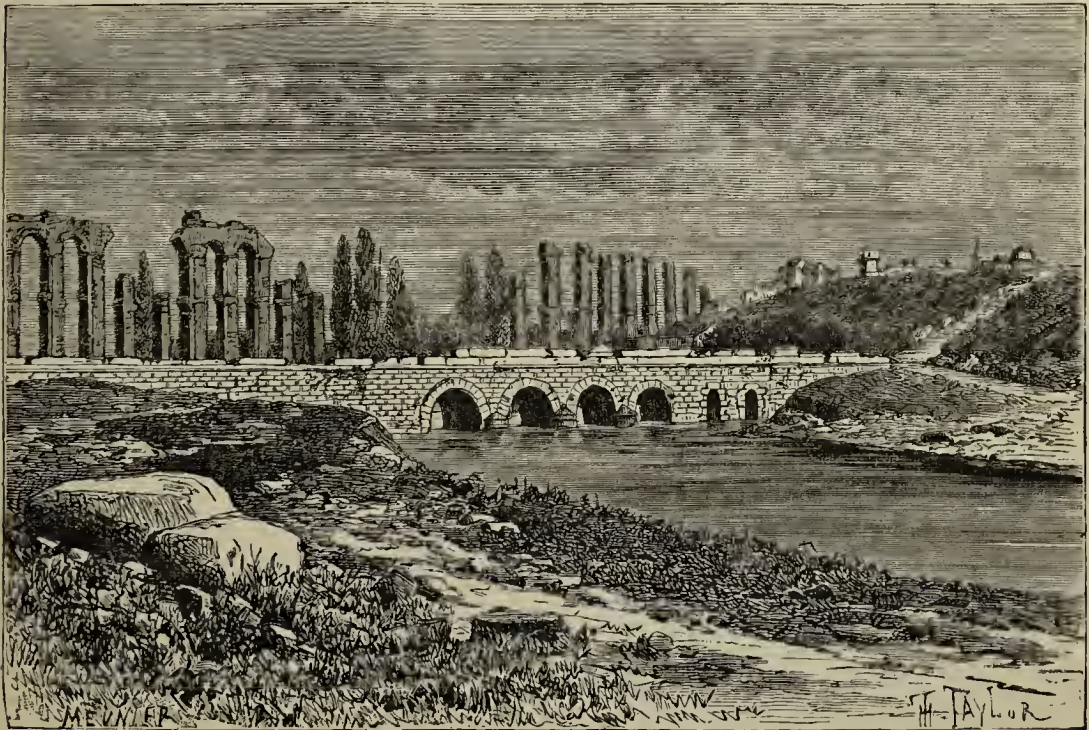
but the strength of the great oaks is worn away by the perpetual climbing of the woodpecker.”¹

The Pyrenees, like the Western Alps, were conquered, and in Spain as well as in Gaul every spark of resistance was stamped out. A new division on this side of the mountains also changed the habits of the people. The Citerior province, now called Tarraconensis, was made more important, and the Ulterior was divided into Lusitania and Baetica. The latter had long been in Spain what Narbonensis was in Gaul; it was only necessary, therefore, to help the movement which was already Romanizing the province. New colonies, as Hispalis (Seville) and Astigi (Ecija), aided this tendency; and a few years later Strabo was able to say, “The natives of Baetica have adopted the manners and customs of the Romans to such a point that they have forgotten their own language. Many had before this received the *jus Latii*, and Augustus multiplied concessions of this kind, so that now it is almost universal. They have moreover many colonies established among them, so that they may be said to be now almost completely Romans, and are hence called *togati*. The Celtiberians, who were once so fierce, belong to the same class.” Thus the Roman influence gained Central Spain, and acted thence in three directions at once, — by way of Baetica southward, by the plains of Valentia eastward, and northward through the valley of the Ebro, that wide gate opening upon the Mediterranean and Italy. The Ebro, whose headwaters had been captive since the subjection of Biscay, passed through three recent colonies, — Celsa, Caesar-Augusta, and Dertosa (Xelsa, Saragossa, and Tortosa). A chain of military posts surrounded all the western region: Legio Septima and Asturica (Leon and Astorga) kept watch over the Asturias; the Callaïci were guarded by Braccara Augusta (Braga); the Lusitanians by Ebora (Evora), Osilippo (Lisbon), Pax Augusta (Beja or Badajoz), and Augusta Emerita (Merida), their capital, which became one of the finest cities of the Empire, as its ruins testify. The four colonies last named did not appear sufficient until a part of the Lusitanians had been transplanted across the Tagus into a region nearer Baetica and the Roman civilization.

¹ Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule mér.* ii. 354, and Append. No. 3. On the late date of this song, cf. *Revue critique* for 1861. art. 199.

Those who were allowed to remain on the north side of the river were compelled to build cities there. "Now," Strabo says, "fifty tribes, formerly always at war, live there in peace, mingled with Italian colonists." "Brigandage even has disappeared," says Velleius Paterculus, "and to Augustus belongs the credit."¹

Spain has ever been ready to admire strength and grandeur, even acquired at her own expense. Caesar, against whom she had twice fought, was popular through the country. Augustus could therefore, without wounding the national pride, multiply testimo-



MERIDA. RUINS OF THE AQUEDUCT AND BRIDGE OF ALBAREGAS.²

nials of respect towards his adoptive father. The cities themselves solicited the honor of changing their names for that of the founder of the Empire. One became the Julian Valor, others his Fame, his Glory and Firmness, his Success and his Generosity.³ Gades, like Merida and a host of others, took the name of Augusta in

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 91. This organization of Gaul and Spain was not completed until the second journey that Augustus made into Gaul, during the years 15, 14, and 13 (Dion, liv. 23 and 25). Strabo attributes to Tiberius the military organization of the Tarraconensis and of Lusitania.

² From Delaborde's *Voyage en Espagne*, pl. 152. The Roman bridge of Albaregas, 400 feet long and 25 feet wide, has still the old Roman pavement.

³ *Virtus Julia* (Itucci), *Claritas Julia* (Itubi), *Felicitas Julia* (Lisbon), *Liberalitas Julia* (Evora), etc.

honor of him who was the pacificator of land and sea.¹ Meanwhile bridges thrown over rivers, roads laid out across mountains, and, better still, the effect of so many colonies, the relish for comfort developed among these barbarians, and the supervision exercised over the peninsula by the large bodies of troops who were kept in the north and west, guaranteed everywhere a security by which civilization profited. Solicited for more than two centuries by this triumphant power, the peoples of Spain long repulsed her with savage energy; but when at last they laid down their swords, they abandoned themselves eagerly to her influence. The toga became the garb of the Celtiberians, and in those peaceful laborers of the valley of the Tagus, Viriathus could never have recognized the fierce warriors who inflicted upon the Senate the shame of a treaty on equal terms. "Among the Cantabrians even all war has ceased," says Strabo, "and the most savage of them, no longer pillaging their neighbors, bear arms for the defence of the Empire." The duration of one man's life was enough to effect this revolution, and grateful Spain built altars to this man, and until the Middle Ages reckoned time by the era of Augustus.

From Spain Augustus regulated the affairs of western Africa. He had already founded many colonies in this region, and commenced its organization as a province at the time when he sent colonists to Carthage for the purpose of placing the Moors and Numidians between two foci, as it were, of Roman life. Finding the Moors still too barbarous for the regularity of the imperial administration, he gave them a native government. The son of the late Numidian king Juba, who had been brought up at Rome with a respect for Roman power and culture, received a kingdom consisting of part of the territory of the Gaetulians and that of the Moors lying west of the Ampsagas (25 B. C.).³ But from Spain the



JUBA II., KING OF
MAURETANIA.²

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. 36. Gades had a very extensive commerce upon the ocean and upon the Mediterranean, and, by the testimony of Strabo, like Patavium, she had five hundred knights; that is to say, five hundred citizens who possessed at least 400,000 sesterces.

² Diademed head of Juba II., from a gem (cornelian, 15 by 11 millimetres) *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,063.

³ Dion, liii. 26. The great harbor of Saldæ, between Caesarea and Cape Tretum, marked the frontier of Roman Africa on the side of the new kingdom (Strabo, xvii. 3, 12, and 13).

Romans kept guard over Mauretania, which was dependent for a portion of its supplies upon Baetica, as Morocco at the present time is for manufactured articles upon Gibraltar.¹ Near Tangier, on the African coast, was the city of Zilis; Augustus transported the inhabitants to the other side of the straits, to Algesiras, which he colonized under the name of *Colonia Julia transducta*. The new king, it must be confessed, found his subjects troublesome. The Gaetulians, indignant at being no longer under the government of Rome, rose in insurrection (5 A.D.) for this reason, — which would appear singular, had we not the spectacle at this same epoch of other nations seeking incorporation with the Empire. The legions were obliged to march against these too zealous friends of the Roman government, and a general returned from that war with the honors of a triumph and the surname Gaetulicus.³



AUGUSTUS, VINDICATOR OF THE LIBERTY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.²

This same year in which he constructed a kingdom in Africa he destroyed one in Asia. Amyntas, king of the Galatians, had died. He left children; but the country, being surrounded on all sides by territory now belonging to Rome, had ceased to be useful for police duty, and Augustus therefore reduced Galatia to a province (25).

The Asturi and the Salassi being conquered, the Empire found itself in every direction at peace. The temple of Janus was again closed (25 B.C.); and Indian and Scythian chiefs, whose countries were now visited yearly by Roman traders,⁴ came to pay homage to the chief of this vast Empire of peace.

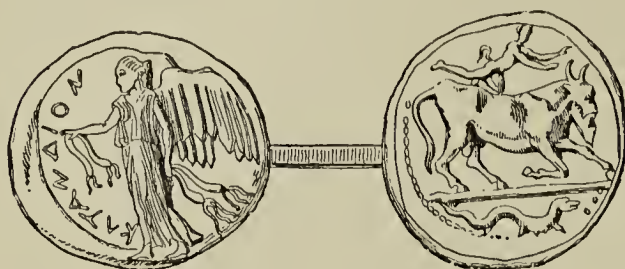
¹ At Mellaria, says Strabo (iii. 1, 8), they prepared salted provisions which were shipped from Belon for Tingis and Mauretania.

² IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. COS. VI. LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDEX. Coin struck in the sixth consulship of Augustus, 28 B.C. The second, in which he bears the same title, is dated from his eighth consulship, 26 B.C.

³ Dion, lv. 28. Juba caused a tomb to be constructed for himself on the model of the Madras'en (Vol. III. p. 498 and n. 2); it still exists, and is known as "The Christian's." It is a low cylinder, surmounted by a truncated cone, on which are forty-two steps. Its diameter at the base is 64 metres, its height 33 metres; it is probable that originally it was 10 metres higher.

⁴ That same year the Germans had put to death Roman traders who visited them. The latter went out in all directions (Dion, liii. 28; Suet., *Octav.* 22; Oros, vi. 21).

Gaul, Africa, and Spain being thus organized, Augustus returned to Rome to assume the tribunitian authority for life. To this was added, in commemoration of his last victories, the right of wearing during the remainder of his life, on the first day of the year, the triumphal wreath and toga; and a senatus-consultum decreed the



COIN OF CATANA.¹

erection of an arch of triumph at Augusta Praetoria (Aosta).

After a residence of nearly two years in the capital, he began at Sicily to visit the eastern provinces.

“He there ordered all things,” says his biographer. The island greatly needed the master’s presence. The wars of Sextus had added new desolation to that which the earlier wars had caused, and in that fruitful land poverty prevailed. Augustus re-established Catana and Centuripae, and sent a colony to Syracuse, which had been reduced from five districts to but a single one, Achradina.²

From Sicily Augustus crossed over into Greece. Cythera had fallen into the possession of a certain Eurycles, who from his insular rock had made himself, as it were, the tyrant of Laconia. Augustus exiled him, and gave his island to the Lacedaemonians. To pay them a compliment, he took a seat at their public table, —unfortunately, the only one of their ancient customs which they had retained. But he deprived the Athenians of Aegina and Eretria, and forbade them to sell their citizenship. Some were punished for their flatteries of Antony, others recompensed for the asylum they had afforded Livia when a fugitive, with her first husband, from proscriptions and the triumvirs. Moreover, he detached from the jurisdiction of Sparta twenty-two villages whose inhabitants (the Eleutherolaconians) had been the first in the

¹ Upon the face the name of the people and a Victory holding out the diadem, which Bacchus is said to have invented; on the reverse, a satyr upon a bull with human face, representing Bacchus Hebo (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* i. 203, and Müller-Wieseler, vol. ii. pl. xxxiii. No. 380).

² Strabo, vi. 270. Antony had given citizenship to the Sicilians; Augustus doubtless withdrew this right, for we know that in Pliny’s time six only out of their sixty-eight cities possessed it.

former wars to surrender themselves to the Romans.¹ Corinth received from him new colonists, for he was desirous to restore the importance of a city which was a mart for the two seas. Later he established veterans at Patrae and at Buthrotum, on the coast of Epirus opposite Corcyra, for the purpose of restraining the islanders from piracy.

Augustus, who was wont to speak frequently at Rome of the manners of ancient days, endeavored to revive some of them in Greece; he re-established the Amphictyonic council in Greece with a sincerity equal to that which had actuated him in regard to republican institutions. Fifteen states or cities, representing thirty votes, were to send deputies to the new assembly. But the city of Nicopolis, lately founded by himself, had six votes,—as many as Thessaly or as Macedon. Boeotia, Phocis, Delphi, had but two apiece; Doris, Athens, Euboea, Opuntian Locris, and Ozolian Locris, one apiece; and four of the most eminent cities of ancient Hellas, Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, and Megara, were obliged to unite to send one deputy. Furthermore, the representatives of Nicopolis, Delphi, and Athens sat at every session; but the others only in their turn.² Although this institution was yet in existence in the time of Pausanias, it cannot be wondered at that Strabo regards the Amphictyonic council as a thing of the past.

A few months had sufficed for the ordering of Hellenic affairs; but Asia required more time. From Samos, where he passed the winter studying the problems connected with the government of the Oriental provinces, Augustus went to Ephesus; and here he limited the right of asylum in the temple of Diana, which, having been made to extend over almost the whole city, had made the place a lair of bandits.³ Thence he went to Ilium, whose privileges, as the native country of the Roman people, he confirmed. He next traversed the entire peninsula, visiting the Senate's provinces as well as his own, and regulating all things with the hand of a sovereign, and at the same time with delicate consideration for these vain and frivolous people, whom some slight favor could solace for past wrongs. At Ephesus he restored an Apollo that

¹ Pausanias (iii. 21) names eighteen of them.

² Wescher, *Monum. biling. de Delphes*, p. 164.

³ Strabo, x. 4, 23.

Antony had taken thence, and at Samos two of the three statues by Myron, the Athene and the Hercules, which the triumvir had stolen from the temple of Juno. Some cities obtained Roman citizenship, others, the *jus Latii*. He gave liberty to Samos, as



COIN
OF CYZICUS.³

he had given it to the districts of Pamphylia subjected to Amyntas;¹ from Cyzicus,² Tyre, and Sidon he took away their freedom on account of seditions which the magistrates had not been able to suppress; and everywhere he reduced all men, Roman officers and provincials alike, to the strict observance of the laws.⁴

The allied kings in their turn were, according to their conduct, rewarded or punished. Augustus had just put an end to the useless kingdom of the Galatians (25 B. C.); the year before, on the contrary, he had sent the insignia of senatorial dignity, with the title of ally, to Polemon, whom Roman policy required in the neighborhood of Armenia. Not long after this he gave Polemon a second kingdom, that of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Cappadocia was one of the outposts of the Empire in the direction of the Euphrates; and in order to increase the forces of the Cappadocian king, the Emperor added to his territory,⁵ and later permitted him to marry the widow of Polemon, who brought him in dowry a part of the possessions of her late husband.

The King of Commagene had been guilty of an atrocious murder. Augustus, who punished Herod's cruelty merely with a coarse jest, found it for his interest, apparently, to be this time more severe. He deposed the murderer, and gave the throne to the son of the murdered man. Thus Rome reserved to herself the right to judge these petty tyrants, who had too long wearied the world with their sanguinary passions.⁶

He confirmed the son of Jamblichus, king of Emesa, in the

¹ Dion, lv. 26.

² Cyzicus recovered it in the year 15 (*Id.*, liv. 23).

³ Stater of Cyzicus bearing Hercules and Iphicles (*Rev. de num.*, 1863, pl. x. No. 3).

⁴ It may have been at this time that the *colonia Caesaria Antiochia* was founded to keep the Isaurians in check (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 27). He also sent a colony to Berytus (*Digest*, l. 15, 16, see. 1),

⁵ Augustus gave him several cities of Cilicia and that portion of Lesser Armenia which had formerly been conferred by Antony upon his ally the King of the Medes (Dion, liv. 9).

⁶ Dion, lii. 43.

possession of the paternal heritage, and restored to the son of Tarcondimotus Eastern Cilicia, which he had kept from that prince for ten years. These two little states seemed necessary to arrest the brigandage of the neighboring mountaineers and the nomads of the Syrian frontier. For the same reason Zenodorus and Herod were allowed to retain as tetrarchs, the one Trachonitis, the other Judaea. We have seen with what address Herod had conciliated the favor of Augustus. The Emperor left him at liberty to choose among his sons which should be his successor, — a favor rarely accorded to any one; and Zenodorus having died about this time, he conferred the latter's principality upon the Jewish king. Suetonius was justified in saying, "He considered the allied kings as members of the Empire. Often he appointed guardians to their minor children, and brought up many of them in his own family."²



THE TETRARCH
ZENODORUS.¹

When Cleopatra was proposing to escape to India, the Nabathæan Arabs burned the fleet which she had brought together in the Red Sea; and for this service Augustus had rewarded them by recognizing their king. Augustus strove to live on friendly terms with these nomads, masters of the entrances to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, although it is probable that the envoy of their king Obodas designedly led Gallus astray in the expedition of which we shall soon have occasion to speak.³

The narratives which depict to us the court of the Indian rajahs, to whom the East India Company left a nominal independence, show how they compensated themselves for their political impotence by gratifying the most insane caprices, and for the quiet to which a superior power compelled them, by sanguinary domestic tragedies. These crowned slaves, who are such atrocious tyrants, are the living portraits of the petty kings whom Rome maintained in the eastern provinces. It is perhaps not just to

¹ ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ. Head on a bronze coin.

² *Octav.* 48; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xv. 10, 13.

³ In the year 6 Obodas was replaced by Aretas. The latter prince having assumed the title of king before asking permission of Augustus, the Emperor manifested so much displeasure that Aretas was obliged to send him excuses and gifts (*Josephus, Ant. Jud.* xvi. 16).

say that Augustus designed to make the neighboring people feel by this contrast the happiness of living under Roman rule; but the lesson was there. On all sides was extolled the tranquillity enjoyed by the provincials, and the countries remaining independent implored the honor of being admitted to the number of the imperial subjects. We have seen that the Gaetulians carried on a furious war because Augustus had given them to Juba; the inhabitants of Commagene, after the death of Antiochus, wished to become Romans;¹ and after Herod's death the Jews begged to be united to the province of Syria. Eight thousand of them living at Rome supported the request made by fifty ambassadors.²

At this time Augustus did not visit Egypt;³ but he had so well organized that great imperial farm that his presence was not required there.

The first example of severity on the part of the new government towards its agents was given in that country. Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Vergil and of Augustus, had been placed in command there. He was a poet, and his head grew dizzy when he found himself absolute master of seven millions of men. He acted like a Pharaoh or a Ptolemy, peopled Egypt with statues of himself, had his name and exploits engraved upon the pyramids, and by his exactions excited a revolt which he repressed with much cruelty, pillaging and destroying the city of Thebes. Augustus did not consent to these royal fashions of ruling over his patrimony; he displaced Gallus, forbade him to come into the imperial presence, and when the Senate, eager to strike him whom the Emperor repulsed, pronounced sentence of exile in the case, Gallus (28 or 26 B.C.) took his own life. Petronius, his successor, comprehended the intentions of the Emperor better towards a country which fed Rome four months in the year, through which passed all the commerce of the Indies, and which itself alone poured into the treasury every year the tax of six provinces. Under the later Ptolemies famine and pesti-

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3.

² Id., *Ibid.* xvii. 12; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8; Tac., *Ann.* ii. 42.

³ Neither did he go into Africa; but he says in the Monument of Ancyra that he sent colonies thither, notably to Carthage (Appian, *Pun.* i. 136). Africa and Sardinia were the only provinces that he did not visit (Suet., *Octav.* 47).

lence had frequently desolated Egypt; Petronius undertook great engineering works to make the waters of the Nile more useful, repairing the dikes and cleansing the canals. Before the time of this governor, when the river rose but eight cubits there was famine, and about twice that height was needed to make a good year; under the rule of Petronius twelve cubits gave the most plentiful harvests, and with only eight there was no longer danger of want.¹ As the tax was proportioned to the harvest, the revenues of the prince increased with the prosperity of the country. Commerce, favored by a vigilant police system, carried life even into the desert. A hundred and twenty vessels yearly sailed for India from the ports of the Red Sea, taking advantage of the summer monsoon,—the periodical character of which was now just becoming recognized,—and returning in the winter monsoon.



COIN
OF PETRONIUS.²



COIN OF TRALLES.
GAMES IN HONOR OF
AUGUSTUS.³

Such were the labors of the master of the world, and this the method in which he enjoyed his victory. If all belonged to him, it is at the same time true that his time and care, and even his own fortune, belonged to all; for he had accepted the duties of an intelligent administration which repairs private disasters from public resources. In his widely extended journeys he relieved the cities that had been overburdened, and rebuilt those that some scourge had destroyed. Tralles, Laodicea, and Paphos, overwhelmed by earthquakes, rose finer than before from their ruins. A thousand others, says the historian Dion, were assisted.⁴ One year the Emperor even paid with his own money the entire tax

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 61, 63, 108; Tac., *Ann.* ii. 59; *Hist.* i. 11; Suet., *Octav.* 81; Strabo, xvii. 788–817.

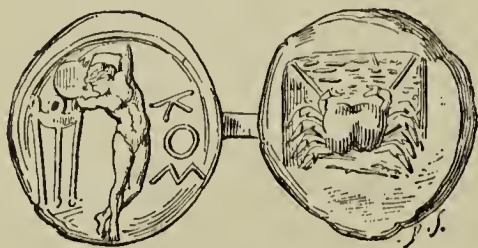
² AVGVSTVS CAESAR. Augustus in a biga drawn by elephants, an olive-branch in his hand. Reverse of a silver coin of T. Petronius, regarded as a commemoration of the Indian embassy sent to Augustus.

³ Reverse of a great bronze of Elagabalus: ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΣ. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ. A square table; on the table three wreaths, inside of which is read: ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ, ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΕΙΑ, ΠΥΘΙΑ; under the table, in four lines: ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ (Mionnet, *Descr.* iv.; Lydia, No. 1,106; Rayet, fig. 24). The institution of these games dates no doubt from the reconstruction of the city by the liberality of Augustus (between 27 and 24 B. C.).

⁴ liv. 23.

of the province of Asia.¹ When he took from the Greeks a work of art he gave them the value of it. Cos, in exchange for the Venus Anadyomene of Apelles, received a reduction of one hundred talents upon its tribute.

The road to honor was not closed against the provincials. A native of Mitylene was appointed procurator of Asia; an apostate Jew, Tiberius Alexander, obtained the procuratorship of Judaea,



COIN OF COS.²

and later the prefecture of Egypt; while Balbus, a Spaniard, passed in triumph along that Via Sacra which had already seen provincials, it is true in robes flowered with gold, but chained and captive. Others came to insult by their luxury in

Rome itself the poverty of the old families. A Gaul bought those gardens which Sallust had created with the wealth of a province.

Augustus, while manifesting this liberal disposition towards the subjects of Rome, refused, however, to follow the path which Julius Caesar had marked out, leading to the progressive assimilation of vanquished and victors. He was very sparing in the bestowal of citizenship; it is probable that he withdrew it from the Sicilians, and granted it only to the magistrates of municipia and to great landowners, making use of this title to establish a provincial nobility as he had already constituted one at Rome. Thus recurs everywhere that aristocratic tendency in his government to which we have earlier called attention.

The general measures of the imperial administration accord with that conduct of the ruler which was for the governors both an example and a lesson. All the divinities who wish admittance to the Roman cult are received, and each great section of the Empire sees its national god protected and enriched by the laws of Rome. The Jews held a religious tenet radically opposite to the plurality of gods; but as they made no use of it at that time

¹ *Ibid.*, 30 : Τὸν φόρον αὐτῆς τὸν ἔτειον ἐκ πᾶν ἐαυτοῦ χρημάτων τῷ κοινῷ ἐσήνεγκε. In the Monument of Ancyra, No. 24, Augustus boasts of having restored to the temples of Greece and Asia the riches and ornaments which his adversaries had taken from them. He adds that he came four times to the aid of the exhausted treasury.

² ΚΟΣ. Apollo, near a tripod, striking upon a drum, and executing the dance of victory. Tetradrachm of Cos.

in asserting their national independence, they were permitted at Rome, in the very presence of Jupiter great and good, to read publicly the Pentateuch and all the cutting irony with which their prophets scourged the idols. When we remember how much blood has been shed by religious intolerance, we shall set down to the credit of the Romans of that time the vast amount of evil that they did not do. We may also notice in this connection that Rome, in taking away from the Jews the right of pronouncing sentence of death, allowed them, however, the privilege of saving annually one person condemned to die.¹

In respect to military service Augustus was not exacting. He required but few soldiers in proportion to the mass of the population of the Empire, because he established no garrisons in the interior; and this tax of blood fell chiefly upon the new provinces, whose warlike tribes paid it without reluctance.²

His twenty-five legions kept the barbarians in check by lining the frontiers with forts and camps in which all the military science of antiquity was applied, and in countries not exposed they constructed roads and bridges, canals and aqueducts. We shall see them erecting amphitheatres, draining marshes, and rescuing arid land; it was the conquerors of Actium who restored prosperity to Egypt by cleansing the choked channels of her great river.³

VI. — COMMERCE; PROSPERITY OF THE EMPIRE.

WE have already spoken of the new financial organization, of the census, of roads, posts, and the monetary reform. Commerce profited by all these measures, and a new activity pervaded this Empire, so admirably fitted for a long and prosperous existence.

In no portion of the earth had humanity encountered conditions more favorable to its development than in these lands

¹ St. Matthew xxvi. 15.

² See chap. lxx.

³ Cf. Suet., *Octav.* 18; *Claud.* 1; Tac., *Ann.* i. 20; xi. 20; xiii. 53; xvi. 23; and numerous inscriptions. We will mention only the canals of Marius, Drusus, and Corbulo, and the engineering work of the legions of Trajan, Hadrian, and Probus.

which from the Pyrenees and the Cevennes, from the Alps and the Balkan, from the Taurus and the Atlas, slope down towards the Mediterranean Sea, with their countless rivers and fine sea-coasts, crowded with rich and industrious cities. Of this prosperity we have an intelligent and truthful eye-witness, Strabo, who during the lifetime of Augustus visited a large portion of the Empire. He attests the commercial activity which arose as soon as the sea was cleared from pirates and the land from bandits,



COIN OF SMYRNA.¹

and the temple of Janus closed. We thus see a side of ancient life which has never received the attention it deserves. In so vast a whole as the Roman Empire, economic questions have their fit place at the side of political and military questions; for commerce at that time did for the Roman world what it was destined to do

later for modern Europe,—it brought together cities and peoples whose profound differences we have already pointed out, and it created for three centuries, if not the idea of a common country, at least a common interest in the preservation of “the Roman peace.”

It has been frequently asserted that traffic was despised in Rome.² This perhaps may be true in the case of the Romans of the first centuries, although they signed treaties of commerce with

¹ ΣΜΥΡΝΑ ΑΡΕΤΑΤΟΝΟΜΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ. Reverse of a bronze of Commodus, which has been thought to represent the alliance of Lacedaemon with Smyrna. Jupiter Nicephorus seated would represent the Genius of Smyrna, and Minerva armed and standing that of Lacedaemon. Cf. *Hist. de l'Acad. des inscr.* i. 294, and pl. 8, No. 5.

² This prejudice was especially Greek, and was advanced, though without great success, by the philosophers. Xenophon (*Oeconom.* iv.), says: “Handicrafts ruin the body and leave the soul without energy;” Aristotle (*Polit.* iii. 3): “The rights of citizens should be refused to artisans;” he would not (vii. 9) even have the citizen engage in agricultural labors; Plato (*Laws*, viii.) forbids it in so many words, and condemns him to a month in prison (*ibid.* i. 11) if he should engage in traffic of any kind. This is the ideal which was realized by the Spartans, Cretans, and Thessalians. Cicero made himself the echo at Rome of these doctrines (*De Off.* i. 42, etc.). But from the earliest days we find the people divided into trade-corporations, κατὰ τέχνας (Plut., *Numa*, 17), and a company of traders constituted themselves under the patronage of Mercury (Livy, ii. 27). Before the Second Punic War a law forbade senators to engage in any business, and allowed them only one vessel of a certain capacity (three hundred amphorae) for the conveyance of their harvests (Livy, xxi. 63). During the wars with Hannibal contractors undertook the provisioning of the armies, and a province is no sooner conquered than Roman merchants crowd into it with their accustomed avidity, says Diodorus (v. 26),—πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων διὰ τὴν συνθηγὴν φιλαργυρίαν . . . Many inscriptions read: The Roman merchants of such a city or province.

Carthage; but it assuredly is not so in the case of those of the imperial time, who had quite different ideas from the early Quirites, as well as a different origin and other modes of living. What were the eighty thousand Italians doing in Asia whom Mithridates found there more than half a century before the battle of Actium,¹ and at Utica those three hundred wealthy Roman merchants whose slaves were numerous enough of themselves to compose the city-guard? "Not a sesterce," says Cicero,² "is in circulation in the province of Narbonensis that is not entered on Roman account-books." Would the provinces have become so quickly Roman had there been no traffic there, or at least none carried on by the Italian residents? Administrative measures and the establishment of colonies would never have been able to effect this fusion so rapidly. But when we find Roman traders among the Sicambri, the Marcomanni, the Ierni,³ in Arabia Petraea and Taurus, — when we learn that one hundred and twenty vessels went yearly for Roman business to the coast of the peninsula of Ganges, and that Pompey explored the road to India by way of the Caspian Sea, the River Indus, and the country of Bactriana,⁴ — how is it possible to say that traffic was odious to the Romans, and that they considered it becoming to abandon to the provincials the profits upon all that was carried on throughout the Empire?

The Greeks considered commerce worthy of respect, and favored it by their institutions; and it hence became very flourishing in the eastern Mediterranean. The movement had spread also as far as Spain, Gaul, and even Pannonia. "Naviga-

¹ Appian, *Mithr.* 61; Val. Max., ix. 2. Cicero, in his oration *Pro lege Manilia*, 8, shows how immense was the capital invested by Romans in Asia.

² *Pro Fonteio*, v. Florus advises the Treviri to commence war by the massacre of the Roman traders (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 42). Before the conquest of Gaul was really completed Roman traders began to flock thither. The great revolt began at Cenabum by the massacre of the citizens, *Romani qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant* (Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* vii. 3).

³ Tac., *Ann.* ii. 62; *Agric.* 24. Seventy thousand Romans or allies are killed in Britain in the time of Nero, and it had been conquered but eighteen years earlier, under Claudius! (Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 33.) Tacitus says (*ibid.*), in speaking of London, *copia negotiatorum et commeatorum maxime celebre*.

⁴ The commodities of India were sold at a hundred times their cost, — *quae apud nos centuplicato veneunt* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 26); according to Varro, *Pompeii ductu exploratum*. Strabo says also in book xi. 7, 3: "The Oxus is so navigable that through its channel Indian merchandise is brought easily as far as the Hyrcanian Sea, whence, by other rivers, it is transported to the Pontus Euxinus."

tion along the coast of Western Iberia is very good," says Strabo, "with the exception of some difficulties in passing through the straits. It is no less favorable in the Mediterranean, where the rest of the voyage is usually in calm weather, especially when the open sea is kept; . . . and these waters have been freed from pirates, so that nothing is lacking for the security of the navigators. . . . Every year vessels of large size arrive from Turdetania at Dicæarchia (Puteoli) and at Ostia in as great number as from Libya." When Horace has occasion to bring upon the scene a rich merchant, he makes him "the opulent master of a Spanish vessel;" and to show his own disdain of wealth, he says that he will ask of the gods to be permitted but thrice or four times safely to navigate the Atlantic.¹ Upon this ocean the Romans followed in the track of the Carthaginians. Tacitus tells us that the Italian traders went as far as Ireland, and Suetonius shows us, in the time of Augustus, the people divided into three classes,—*plebs urbana, aratores, negotiantes*. It is apparent, in spite of the indifference of the ancient historians towards facts of this kind, that the labor question, the most important one of the modern world, was agitated eighteen hundred years ago upon the banks of the Tiber. Tacitus descends from the heights which his genius loves, to deplore the circumstance that, through lack of work, what began as a scarcity of food ended as an actual famine.²

Augustus, who reduced the number of festivals for the purpose of giving more working days, distributed corn to the people but thrice yearly, lest they should be too frequently diverted from their industries. A proof of the attention paid by Government to commercial affairs is the precaution taken in each city and each quarter of the larger towns to preserve standard weights and measures in a temple, under the protection of a divinity, who, we learn from an inscription, was not the facile Mercury, but

¹ *Carmin.* I. xxxi., xxxviii.; III. vi. Navigation by sails and oars was more rapid than we believe. According to Pliny (xix. 1) the voyage from Ostia to the African coast was made in two days, to Marseilles in three, to Tarragona in four, to Gades in seven; from Puteoli to Alexandria was a nine days' voyage, and from Messina, seven, or sometimes six. But the voyage was made only in summer. [By keeping slaves at their large and numerous oars in calm weather, the Roman ships quite left our sailing vessels behind in these voyages.—ED.]

² *Hist.* i. 86: *Fames in vulgus, inopia quæstus et penuria alimentorum.*

Hercules.¹ The Romans ascertained the density of water, wine, oil, and honey; and to prevent error, took as a unit of weight a certain quantity of rain-water.²

Commerce was still more a gainer from the regularity of the monetary system. Rome, with her fifteen or eighteen hundred thousand inhabitants, was the principal market of the Empire. A great accumulation of precious metals was made here, and there



INTERIOR OF THE AMPHITHEATRE AT PUTEOLI.

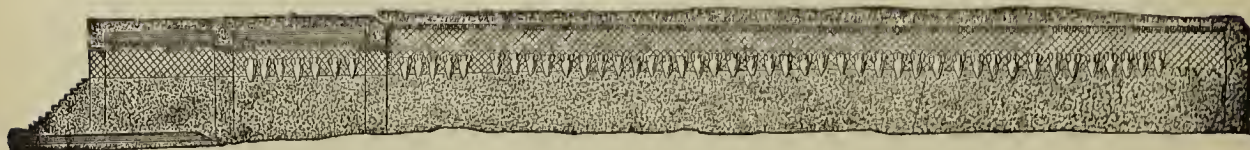
was likewise an enormous consumption; for the population of great cities consume much more proportionally than the population of the country. But Italy produced little, — wines, of which only the inferior qualities were exported; oil;³ excellent corn in small

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 40: . . . *ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur*, cf. *ibid.* 42.

² Dureau de la Malle, *Écon. pol. des Rom.* i. 14.

³ Pliny placed the oil of Venafrum in the first rank, and in the second that of Baetica and Istria. Pausanias (x. 32) prefers to all others that of Tithorea in Phocis, which was used at the Emperor's table. The best wines were those of Amminaea and Nomentum; the Falernian, Massican, and Caecuban, so often praised by Horace; the wine of Setia, worthy of Bacchus (Silius Italicus, viii. 375), etc.

quantity; and wools, some of which, that of Tarentum and of the Cisalpine, were regarded as the finest known.¹ She had cloth manufactories and potteries; also sulphur, saffron, and honey. But all this was not enough to balance her imports,² and she was obliged to pay the difference in money; so that by their industry and commerce the provinces took back from Rome what they had paid her as tribute. The commodities of Serica, India, and Arabia alone cost the Empire nearly four million dollars.³ Already every host who did not cover his guests with perfumes was considered ill-bred, and "a matron could no more show herself without her



A WINE-CELLAR IN ROME (DISCOVERED IN 1789).

pearls than a magistrate without his lictors." Soon to these pearls all kinds of precious stones came to be added.

There were, however, in Italy several great annual fairs, of which the most celebrated was that held at Feronia, where those

¹ Columella, vii. 2.

² Rome received marble from Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Numidia, spike-nard from India and Syria, balm from Jericho, and pearls and precious stones, the use of which became so general in the time of Augustus, from India, purple and stuffs from Cos, those of Attalus (*Attalica vestis*) with inwoven gold, ivory, Ethiopian ebony, and Indian crystal. Upon Roman tables were served the peacock of Samos, the crane of Melos, the pheasant of Colchis, the lamprey of Tartessus, the sword-fish of Rhodes, the searuss of Cilicia, scollops from Chios, chickens and guinea-fowl from Numidia, geese from Gaul, of which the livers were increased in size by milk and honey, — an invention whose credit was disputed by an ex-consul and a knight, — the geese of Germany, whose down was sold at five denarii the pound, filberts from Thasos, dates from Egypt, Spanish nuts, wines from all the Mediterranean coast, African, Spanish, and Greek oil, and slaves from every country in the world. (Cf. 3d *Mém.* of M. de Pastoret, pp. 101-116.)

³ It might almost be said that the city of Rome expended this enormous sum on these luxuries, for it was especially there that they were in demand. The dealers in perfumes and spices occupied a quarter by themselves (Horace, *Epist.* II. i.). At Poppaea's funeral Nero burned more incense than all Arabia Felix furnished in a year. Pliny adds (*Hist. Nat.* xii. 41): *Tanti nobis deliciae et feminae constant!* What would he say now, when the commerce with India alone of one of the smallest and the very poorest province of the Empire is not far from two hundred millions of dollars annually? It is quite true that the old declamations against luxury are no longer in fashion since commerce and industry make it their aim, not to secure pleasure to a few, but to increase the comfort of all. Wealth, the fruit of rapine and of slave labor, as at Rome, is an evil; for, born of violence, it nourishes vice and corruption as a rule. Wealth, the fruit of free labor, as in our modern life, is a good, for it incites to industry, develops intelligence, and compels those who use it to share it as wages with those who produce it.

possessed by the goddess, on certain days of the year, walked barefoot and without sustaining injury over a very broad bed of hot ashes and glowing coals. Strabo also makes mention of Italian commodities, — possibly, however, of Spanish or Gallic origin, — warehoused at Ephesus, and Italian wines which, with those of Laodicea and Syria, served as articles of exchange in the cities on the shores of the Red Sea. That Rome carried on export trade we also learn from Horace's threat to his book, — that it will perhaps serve some day as a wrapper for merchandise destined to Utica or to Ilerda.²

SILVER OR GOLD SMITH.¹GOLD-BEATER.³

As is now the case with Paris, and from the same causes, the industry of Rome was especially directed towards the production of articles of luxury. There was a crowd of carvers and moulders, dyers, embroiderers, lace-makers, cabinet-makers, workers in stucco, in bronze and gold, and the like. The book-trade had assumed considerable proportions, for Atrectus could sell a copy of Martial's epigrams in a purple case well polished with pumice-stone for five denarii. Much paper⁴ was made and much

glass. Many mixtures had been devised to vary the colors of this product, and they were able to sell it as cheap as we do now, a small glass drinking-cup costing but a half-as.

Three seaports served for provisioning Rome and for the export of the merchandise of Central Italy, — Ariminum (Rimini), which received the commodities of the Cisalpine; Ostia and

¹ From an engraved cornelian in the *Cabinet de France* (15 millim. by 16).

² *Epist.* I. xx. 13. [This may have been copied directly from some Greek author. — ED.]

³ From a bas-relief in the Vatican.

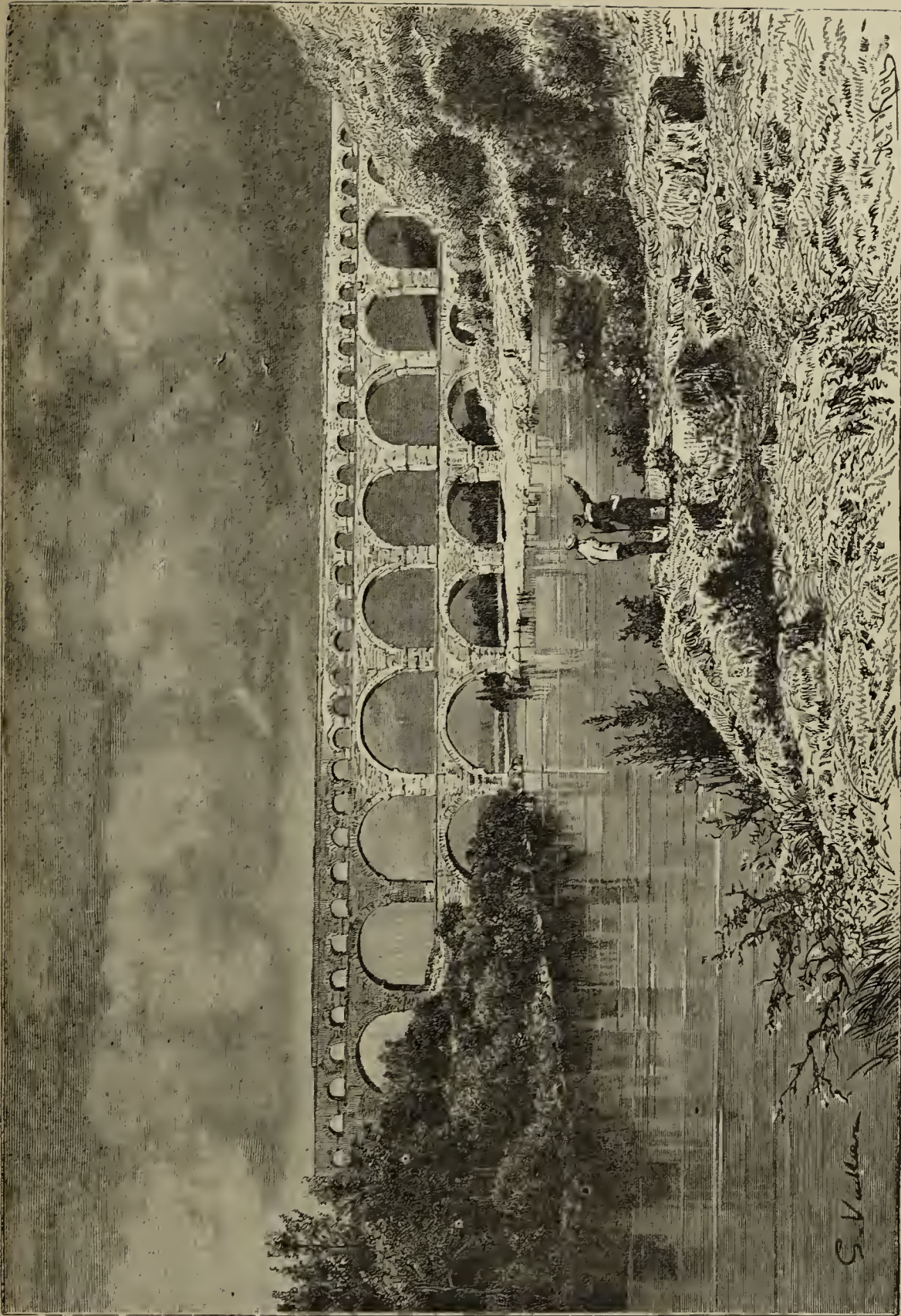
⁴ Augustus and Livia gave their names to two qualities of paper. See a long enumeration by M. Pastoret (*op. cit.*, vol. v. 2d part, p. 85) of the different callings at that time held in esteem in Rome.

Puteoli, ports of entry for the cereals of Africa and the products of Spain, Gaul, and the East. To relieve Ostia, at this time but a poor roadstead, Augustus laid out, at the side of the Appian Way, across the Pontine Marshes, a canal to Terracina. This canal was reached by sea from Puteoli, and gave easy passage for nearly thirty miles to barges drawn by mules conveying the traders themselves and light merchandise; and thence the distance to be made by land was short.

The Cisalpine exported a great quantity of millet, — a kind of crop, says Strabo, which secures against famine, since it never fails, — pitch, wine, which is kept in casks as tall as houses, the fine wools of Mutina (Modena), and the coarser wool of Liguria and the region around Mediolanum (Milan); and, lastly, immense herds of swine to feed the city. Patavium (Padua) was the centre of great manufactures of cloaks and expensive carpets and hangings.

Sicily furnished corn and cattle and wool, the honey of Hybla, rivalling that of Hymettus, fine carvings, and valuable stuffs made at Malta, where there had been weavers since the time of the Phoenicians. Sardinia had only its harvests.

Gaul had too lately entered upon the path of civilization for her exports to be extensive; but Narbonensis produced all the fruits of Italy, oil, an abundance of wine, and wool of excellent quality, and Transalpine Gaul furnished corn, millet, and cattle. "All the ground is cultivated," says Strabo; and he adds that the convenient position of the rivers makes it easy for merchandise to be transported, either from place to place within the country, or from the ocean to the Mediterranean, or the reverse. Massilia and Narbo were the two ports of exportation for tunics worn by the Italian slaves, for the linen cloth of the Cadurci, the salt pork of the Sequani, the military frocks of Arras, and red cloth, of which the better qualities were said to equal the purple of the East. These two great seaport towns communicated with the interior through other places already actively engaged in trade, — Toulouse and Bordeaux upon the Garonne; in the Valley of the Rhone and the Saône, Arles, Nîmes, which not long after saw the building of its great aqueduct (Pont du Gard), Vienna, Lyons, where the gold of the Tectosages and the Tarbelli and the silver of the



FONT DU GARD (AQUEDUCT OF NIMES).

Ruteni and Gabali were coined; Autun, later celebrated for its schools, Cenabum on the Loire, frequented by Roman traders even before the Gallic war was ended; Trèves, upon the Moselle, and Rheims, which soon so completely forgot her Gallic origin that she called herself the daughter of Remus, and put the she-wolf and the twins upon her coat-of-arms. Strabo tells us of merchandise transferred from the Saône to the Seine, destined for the British islands, whence came in return leather, iron, tin, cattle,



ROMAN THEATRE AT ARLES (PRESENT CONDITION).

slaves, and, as at the present day, the best hunting-dogs. Half a century after this, Josephus said: "Gaul has within itself an inexhaustible spring of all good things, which it spreads abroad over the rest of the earth;" and in the reign of Tiberius, Sacrovir contrasts with the miseries of Italy the prosperity of Gaul.

To augment the value of Italian lands, a senatus-consultum had prohibited to the Transalpine nations the cultivation of the

vine and the olive.¹ It appears, however, that Narbonensis must have been excepted from this decree, as it was from many others, on account of its proximity to Italy, for Fonteius laid a tax upon the wine sold in this province; and we know that the people of Vienna obtained from their vineyards on the hills, now called the Côte Rôtie, a wine named the Picatum, which was sold at Rome for a thousand sesterces (about thirty-eight dollars) the amphora (nearly six gallons).

Spain furnished an enormous mass of products, — corn and wine, very good oil (especially that of Merida), honey, wax, a quantity of vegetable dye-stuffs, pitch, salted provisions as good as those of Pontus,² oysters obtained all along the coast; vermilion, not inferior to the famed Sinopean cinnabar, bringing seventy sesterces a pound in Rome; and salt, either extracted from the marshes which lie along the coast from Cadiz to Gibraltar, or obtained from very rich mines like those of Castile and especially of Catalonia, where is the famous rock of Cardona of solid salt, so hard that statuettes are cut from it. Earlier than this, Spain had become renowned for her wools, and a Spanish ram had been sold as high as a talent;³ the stuffs made at Saetabis and Emporiae were the finest known; also a kind of broom, of which cordage was made, was exported in large quantities. Her greatest wealth, however, lay in her mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper.⁴ In the north of Spain, the Cerretans and Cantabrians exported excellent hams, “which furnished this people a very advantageous traffic.” The horses of Asturia and Cantabria, small but very active, were so famous after the Veneti had abandoned horse-breeding, that the

¹ Cic., *De Re publ.* iii. 9.

² Strabo describes curiously the evolutions of the army of tunny-fish all along the coast; where, about the time of their annual arrival, sentinels were posted to give notice of their approach.

³ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Atticae*, ii. 22.

⁴ Diod., v. 36; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxviii. 2. There were iron mines and really excellent iron-works at Cape Dianium, — called, on this account, by Pomponius Mela, *Ferraria*; and water useful for tempering near Bilbilis and Turiasso. Horace mentions Spanish cuirasses, *loricis Iberis* (*Carm.* I. xxix. 15). In the gold mines of Bactica, nuggets of ten Roman pounds weight had been found (Pliny, *ibid.* xxxiii. 4). In Turdetania, a fourth part of the ore taken out of the mine was pure copper (Strabo, iii. 7). There was tin in the country of the Gallaeci, and lead at Castalon, where it is found to this day. The Tagus and other rivers of Lusitania brought down particles of gold (*Id.*, *ibid.*) Pliny (*ibid.* xxxiii. 21) estimates the annual product of gold of Galicia, Asturia, and Lusitania at twenty thousand pounds weight.

Romans called all their best animals *Asturiones*; and Posidonius compares the horses of the Celtiberians to those of the Parthians on account of their extreme speed.

In the northeast of Italy, Rhaetic wine was considered as good as the best made in the peninsula, and the mountaineers of the Alps bartered their honey, wax, resin, and cheese for the Italian commodities of which they had need. Across Mont Odra, the lowest part of the Eastern Alps, the merchandise of Aquileia was transported in wagons to Nauportus upon the Leybach, a branch of the Save, where it was embarked and carried down to the Danube, and thence to Segestum, or into Pannonia or Noricum. Aquileia, which possessed very rich gold mines, was the centre of this traffic. This city furnished to the barbarians wine and oil and salted provisions, receiving in return slaves, cattle, furs, that iron from Noricum which was so much valued for the manufacture of swords,¹ and the amber which came from the shores of the Baltic.

With the Northern provinces, therefore, there was only a traffic of barter in which articles of food were the staple. But in Gaul, industry was awakening; and in Spain, especially in Baetica, it was taking a considerable development: metal-working, weaving, agriculture, and fisheries were all in a state of activity.

From Greece and the Greek islands Rome obtained some horses, for the depopulation of the country favored their breeding; honey from the Hymettus and the Sporades; Chian and Lesbian wines; the copper of Cyprus and dried figs from that island;² perfumes prepared at Athens and at Corinth; certain dainties much esteemed for the tables of the rich,—Samian peacocks, Melian cranes, the fish of Rhodes, Chios, and the Black Sea; and, furthermore, the marbles of Pentelicus, Paros, and Chios, the bronze of Corinth, the copper of Euboea, certain delicate tissues like the *byssus* of Elis, so much in favor with the Roman ladies, and the

¹ *Noricus ensis*: Hor., *Carm.* I. xvi. 9; *Epod.* xvii. 71.

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xx. 23; Strabo, iii. 162. The most valued wines of the time were those of Chios, Samos, Clazomenae, Cyprus, Lesbos, Smyrna, Tripoli, Berytus, and Tyre. Some Sicilian wines (the Mamertine and that of Tauromenium) and some from Spain (the Laletanian, that of Tarragona, Lauron, and the Balearic islands) brought a good price. Gallic wines, with the exception of that made at Vienna on the Rhone, were spoiled by certain mixtures, and did not appear upon the tables of the rich. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iv. 19) enumerates eighty kinds of wine, fifty of which were Italian.

hellebore of Antieyra, a precious specific against madness, which Perseus recommends to Nero.



A PEACOCK.¹

The five hundred cities of Asia, rich, populous, and industrious, consumed much, but produced even more, — Milesian cloths and carpets, works of art in endless variety, statues, bronzes, gold and silver smiths' work, pretty Bithynian rings, chased iron-work from Cibyra, Laodicean carpets, pottery from Tralles, the purple-veined marble of Synnada, the dyes of Hierapolis, the wines of Tmolus, used to give others a fictitious age. Through these Asiatic cities passed a great part of the Eastern traffic. Com-

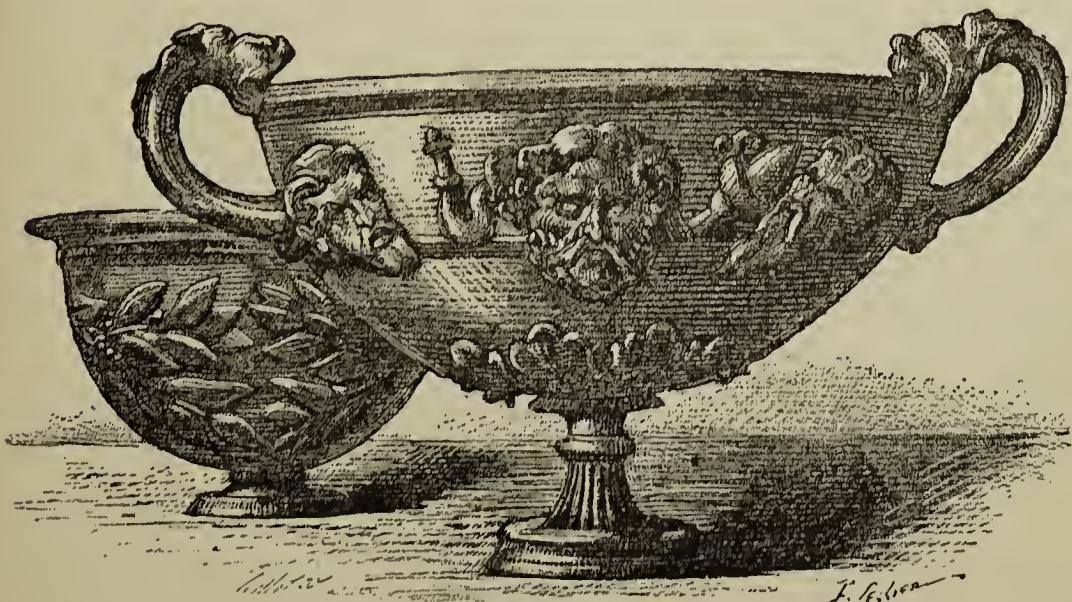
modities of China, India, and Tartary, wools, furs, precious stones, slaves, silks, Sericean steel, were brought by way of the Oxus, the Caspian, and the Caucasian isthmus to Dioscurias, "where the dealers of seventy nations met."²

The carpets and woven stuffs of Babylonia, the precious commodities of the East, brought by way of the Persian Gulf, Northern Arabia, and Central Syria, passed through Palmyra and Thapsacus, and thence were carried to Mazaea on the Halys, and so on to Ephesus, the principal commercial town of Asia, notwithstanding its poor harbor. The cities of Tanaïs, Panticapoeum, and Phanagoria upon the Palus Macotis, occupied a corresponding position towards the countries lying in their rear. The Scythians brought them wool, furs, slaves, and the gold of the Ural and the Altai, in exchange for wines, stuffs, and the countless articles brought by the Greek merchants. Fisheries on a great scale were made then, as now, in the muddy waters of the River Tanaïs and the Palus Maeotis.

¹ Pompeian painting (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, i., 1st series, pl. 43).

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 5, 19; Strabo, xi. 498. Bithynia sent into Italy cheeses that were highly valued (Pliny, *ibid.* xi. 42). Pontus furnished alum, acacia, and building woods (Hor., *Carm.* I. xiv. 11); and Colehis very well-tempered iron (Verg., *Georg.* i. 58).

Phoenicia always furnished the Tyrian purple, which was sold at Rome for more than a thousand denarii a pound (\$192); also cedar-wood and oil, which were regarded as indestructible, so that priests often made statues of their gods of this wood, and poets, to secure immortality for their verses, rubbed with the oil their paper rolls, — *cedro digna locutus*.¹ Into Egypt and all the cities along the shores of the Red Sea Phoenicia exported the wines of Syria and Italy, besides much glass, which was chiefly made at Sidon.



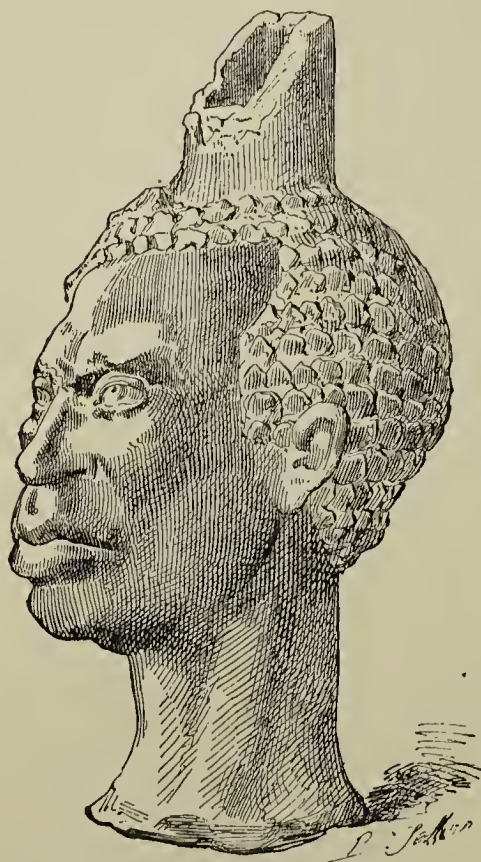
SILVER CUPS (FROM THE HILDESHEIM TREASURE).

Egypt, which had a trade with India and China eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, exported, besides her corn, divers kinds of woven stuffs, very expensive colored glass which was made at Alexandria,² papyrus, and alum: she obtained from the Dead Sea asphalt for embalming; also from Palestine that balm of Gilead which was put up in mother-of-pearl and sold at a great price; from Africa, negroes, much in fashion as slaves in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, ostrich plumes, and ivory; from Arabia, aromatics, incense, and gold dust; from India, spices, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, cassia, myrrh, spikenard, cinnabar, and

¹ Pers., *Sat.* i. 42; Hor., *De Arte poet.* 332: *linenda cedro*.

² Pliny, in many places, mentions the price of these objects at Rome (*Hist. Nat.* ix. 63; xii. 26, 42; xxxvii. 7, etc.). In the time of Aurelian a pound of silk was worth a pound of gold (*Vopisc., Aurel.* 45). Caesar gave away a pearl which cost a million (*Suet., Jul. Caes.* 50). An attempt was made to cultivate the pepper-plant in Italy (Pliny, *ibid.* xvi. 59).

dye-stuffs, shells, Murrhine cups and vases,¹ precious stones, pearls, and silk and cotton stuffs. A strange procedure is reported in connection with this Indian commerce: for India, Augustus turned



VASE IN FORM OF A NEGRO'S HEAD.³

counterfeiter. The Hindoos, who towards the Romans were sellers and not buyers, received much coined money; and as it was ascertained that they could not distinguish false coin from true, the masters of the Roman mint coined for exportation plated denarii, which have been found in great quantities on the coast of Malabar, while nearly all coin intended for circulation within the Empire was of standard value. The operation was as lucrative as it was disreputable.²

Africa still felt the disasters caused by the civil war. The territory of Carthage, however, was one of the granaries of Rome; and that city, now rising from its ruins, had begun to resume

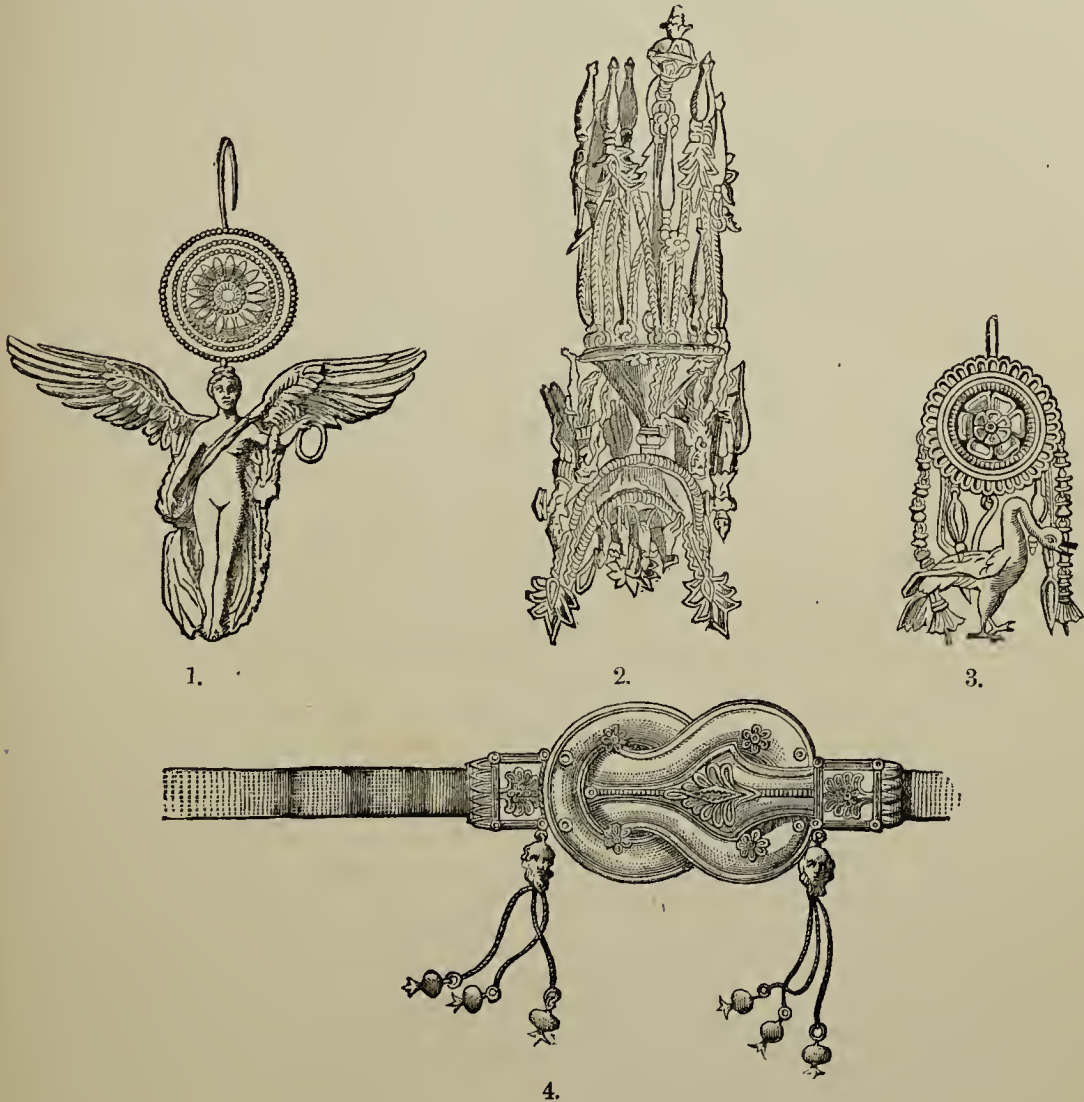
its earlier relations with the interior of Africa. The route opened by Hanno into Senegal and Guinea was doubtless now closed; but it is by no means certain that the six towns founded by that general beyond the Pillars of Hercules had already disappeared, for it was not long before this that Sertorius, influenced by the reports of many ship-masters, had proposed to his soldiers to go and find a home in the Fortunate Islands. Relations with the

¹ These vases, of which Propertius (IV. v. 26) says, *Murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis*, were probably Chinese porcelain, and brought a great price (Pliny, *ibid.* xxxvii. 7).

² Peutinger's map marks near two cities on the coast of Malabar a *Templum Augusti*, which gives reason to believe a trading port existed there. It was customary to have in all merchant towns a "chamber of commerce." The language used in Eastern traffic was the Greek, which, Philostratus says, was spoken by the princes of the north of India and by all educated persons. Seneca (*Cons. ad Helv.* 6) and Plutarch (*The Fortune of Alexander*) confirm this testimony.

³ Found near Aeerra, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, 1878, tav. 5, No. 8.

Canaries still continued. The gold dust which Roman traders found in Mauretania was more probably brought thither by way of the sea than by the long and dangerous route across the Sahara. Carthage sent to Rome wild beasts and gazelles for the



ORNAMENTS, EAR-RINGS, AND BELT OF GOLD.¹

amphitheatre, Numidian horses, precious woods, gold dust, ivory, negroes, Numidian marble, and agates, called by their Greek name, chalcedonies, of which costly cups and vases were made.

We have already seen (Vol. III. chap. lxii.) what was furnished by the Cyrenaïca. Behind this province ran the great

¹ No. 1, a winged Genius, holding a crown under a rosette, all of gold ; No. 2, the chariot of the Sun over a crescent, and winged Victories resting upon a sort of cupola ; No. 3, a swan in white enamel, hung from a gold rosette ; No. 4, fragment of a gold belt found at Ithaca (Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.* etc., figs. 965, 966, 968, 969).

commercial highway which connected the east, south, and west of Africa. The huge caravan, setting out from Upper Egypt, traversed

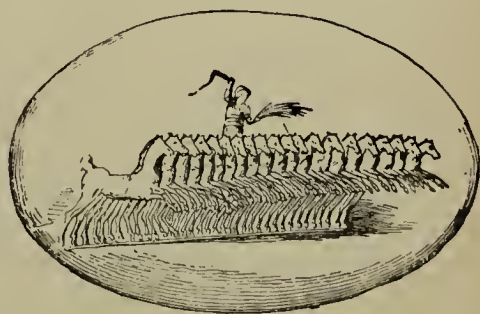


BRONZE GAZELLE FOUND AT HERCULANEUM.¹

the oases of Ammon (Syouth), Augila (Audjelah), and the Garamantes, where it found the traders of Leptis, then travelled southward through the country of the Atarantes (Tegerry) and of the Atlantes (Bilma), to meet those of Nigritia. This route, described by Herodotus twenty-three hundred years ago, is still the one traversed by the caravans of Cairo, as far as the frontiers of Bournou, for Nature

has indicated no other. After the Third Punic War, Leptis had inherited this commerce, which later she was obliged to share with the new Carthage, while keeping, however, a considerable portion of it.

For the larger part of all this merchandise the sea was the great highway, upon which thousands of vessels did service in the carrying trade. Having no compass or chronometer, they were quite likely, when fogs or clouds obscured the stars, to go as far astray as did the vessel in which Saint Paul sailed for Italy. Navigation, therefore, was suspended during the winter, as much on account of the state of the sky as by



CHALCEDONY OF THE CYRENAÏCA.²

¹ Monaco, *National Museum of Naples*, pl. 97.

² Victorious charioteer, driving twenty horses harnessed abreast. An engraved stone, found in the Cyrenaica, the horses of which country were highly valued (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1871.)



DEATH OF ALCESTIS, FROM A SARCOFAGUS FOUND AT OSTIA.



reason of the frequency of tempests. For making land, however, they were guided at many points by fire-towers and lighthouses, which the Greeks had invented and the Roman Emperors multiplied. Of these the most famous was that at Alexandria, which seems to have been five hundred and forty feet in height, and carried a light visible at a distance of forty miles.¹

Thus, under the protection of a vigilant government, civilization extended itself; and the nations formed or resumed the habit of a profitable exchange of commodities, of which the advantages had long been known to the Greeks and to the Carthaginians, and had been for a century and a half shared by the Romans in their capacity of bankers to the world.²

This general prosperity was secured by two things; namely, a government which left much liberty to the individual, and a profound peace, maintained neither by force nor by fear. We may read in Josephus the speech of Agrippa, in which he concludes: "A revolt against Rome would be a revolt against God himself." At the suggestion of a successful revolt Tacitus also is horror-struck on behalf of humanity: "The gods forbid that the Romans should disappear from the earth! What thenceforth would there be save a universal war among the nations? Eight hundred years of constant success and discipline have been required to raise this colossus, and it would crush in its fall whoever should be able to overthrow it."³ But none sought to do this; Pliny shows us the nations "forgetting their ancient animosities, and reposing from their dangers upon the bosom of a peace which was like a long holiday."

It is well to read with distrust the official demonstrations of public gratitude. Every power has received this adulation, even on the eve of its downfall, for power is surrounded by a display which attracts and fascinates the crowd. But if the temples and altars consecrated to the Genius of Augustus, the quinquennial games instituted by all the cities in honor of the Emperor,⁴ were an expression of adulation, they were also a token of genuine

¹ The best modern lights have a range of fifty miles.

² At a later period it was prohibited, under capital penalty, to export iron, weapons, wine, corn, salt, or gold (*Digest*, xxxix. 4, ii. pr., and *Code*, iv. 21, 1, 2).

³ *Hist.* iv. 74.

⁴ *Suet.*, *Octav.* 59.

sentiments; and Vergil's testimony to the felicity of Rome in the midst of the profound peace and serene grandeur which Augustus had bestowed upon her, was the sincere echo of public opinion. When the poet bids us observe the countless sacrifices offered

AUGUSTUS IN THE TOGA.²

on the altars of the three hundred temples which the Emperor has erected, the choirs of women chanting in the sacred courts, Augustus himself seated on the threshold of the temple of Apollo while captives from all nations defile before him, or hanging up in the temples the gifts which nations and kings have offered, we seem to feel the whole city thrilled with joy and gratitude.¹ Or, again, listen to the elder Pliny when he speaks with a sort of religious fervor of this people selected by the gods to restore destroyed empires, to soften men's manners, to unite discordant and barbarous idioms in a

common language, to make it possible for men to understand and love each other,—in a word, to gather into one common country all the nations of the world.³

¹ *Aeneid*, vii. 710. See also Horace, *Carm.*, iv. v. 17 *sqq.*:—

*Tutus bos . . . rura perambulat,
Pacatum volitant per mare navitae.*

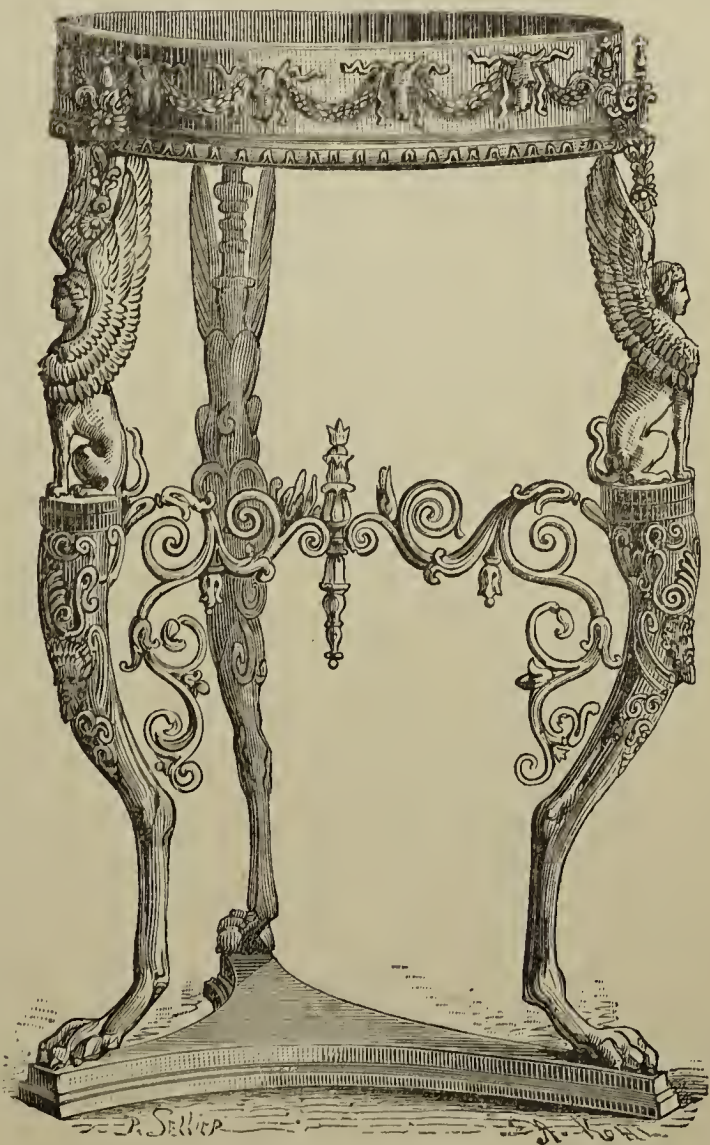
² Museum of the Louvre.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 6.

But we have testimony surer, if less brilliant, than the enthusiasm of the scholar and the poet. "One day, as Augustus was sailing along the shore of Puteoli, the sailors and passengers of an Alexandrian vessel came to salute him, clad in white garments and crowned with flowers. They burned incense before him as if he were a god, and cried out: 'It is by thee that we live and are free; to thee we owe our wealth and security.' Augustus was so gratified by this homage," his biographer continues, "that he distributed forty pieces of gold among his attendants, directing them to expend the money in the purchase of Egyptian commodities. During the succeeding days he gave to the Romans Greek mantles, and to the Alexandrians togas; and he desired them also to change languages, the Greeks to speak Latin, and the Romans Greek,"¹ — a

twofold symbol of the blending of all nations, which had now begun, and would have been completed had this prosperity rested upon institutions instead of depending upon one human life.

Another inference is to be drawn from the tedious but needful details which have filled this chapter. Commerce transported



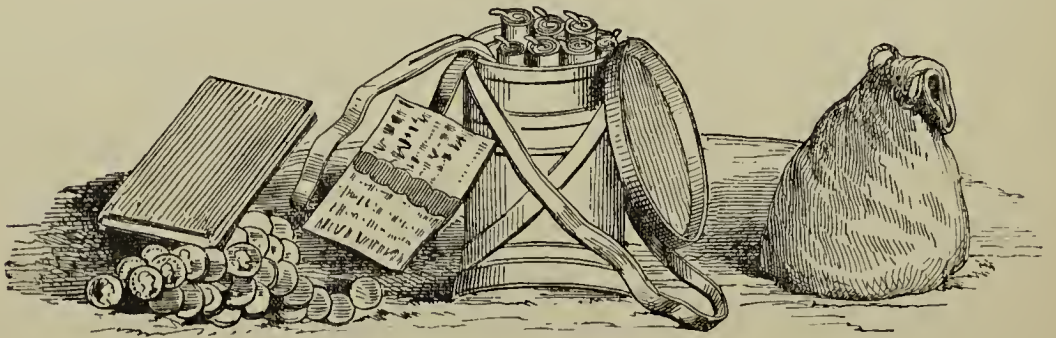
TRIPOD FOR SACRIFICE.²

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 98.

² Bronze tripod from the temple of Isis at Pompeii, and now in the Museum of Naples.

much, for the reason that there was much in the way of industrial and agricultural products to transport. Industry and agriculture, therefore, were flourishing. This laborious activity required many hands, both of slaves and freemen. To the latter, labor brought a competency, to the former, it brought liberty; and this extensive commerce became a cause of emancipation, changing the economic conditions of ancient society. In the rural districts there came into existence the class of *coloni*, midway between freedom and slavery; in the cities, that of small manufacturers, who, for protection, presently associated themselves into guilds and corporations. Thus began a social evolution whose results were inherited by the Middle Ages.

¹ Account books (*breviaria rationum*); day-books (*diurni*); a bag of money; a casket (*scrinium* or *capsula*) full of rolls, each ticketed; and coins, or rather counters, to use in calculating (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. v. pl. 36).



OBJECTS USED BY MERCHANTS.¹

CHAPTER LXVIII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FRONTIERS.

I. — THE FRONTIER OF THE EAST AND SOUTH.

ABOUT the year 19 B.C., the period when Augustus visited the East for the last time, the work of organizing the imperial government, as he had conceived it, was completed. For six years the temple of Janus had been closed, and the minds of men were as quiet as were the provinces. Caepio and Murena, who had dared to conspire against so great a prosperity, had found no accomplices. Industry resumed possession of this world whence it had been expelled; and, by an exception rare in the history of nations, universal gratitude saluted as a saving divinity the author of all these benefits.

Augustus, however, had accomplished as yet but half his task. It remained to secure, by statesmanship or by arms, frontiers so solid that this great work of pacification should not be interrupted by ill-timed attacks from without. In Europe, it was needful to fortify the barrier of the Rhine, to enclose the Alps within the Empire, and to carry the outposts of the legions as far as the Danube; in Asia, to bring Armenia under Roman influence and to intimidate the Parthians; in Africa, to keep the nomadic tribes in check and to re-open in that old world the highways of commerce known to Carthage and the Ptolemies. If we may believe an official document, all this was done with victories innumerable. "I have been," says Augustus, "twenty-one times proclaimed emperor; for the successes of my lieutenants the Senate has fifty-five times decreed thanksgivings to the gods, and eight hundred and ninety days have been occupied in these sacrifices; in my triumphs nine kings or sons of kings have followed my chariot." The new ruler was not, however, so belligerent; he had little

relish for war, and in the military history of his reign we see not so much a series of battles and conquests, as of police regulations upon a large scale. No sovereign ever more sincerely sought peace through war.

In the East, where submissive and orderly Hellenism left him little to do, he employed the time of his stay in determining the relations of the Empire with the Armenians and Parthians. Here the Romans came as far as the Euphrates in Syria only; but, with the exception of this break, the entire frontier from Pontus to the Red Sea was protected by subject states. Augustus had lately made sure of their fidelity, — here by changing the ruler, there by bestowing favors, as in the case of Archelaos the Cappadoecian, and Herod, the king of the Jews, whose domains he had extended. These changes made with a strong hand, the presence of the Emperor himself, and the near neighborhood of a Roman army, — above all, the respect imposed by the wise and admirable government of an empire recently so agitated, — had produced upon the Armenians and Parthians a profound impression, and they had laid down their arms without contest.

In Armenia reigned Artaxias, the son of that Artavasdes so unjustly treated by Antony,¹ and naturally hostile to the Romans. In the year 20 B. C. intrigues, of which we know nothing in detail, — which are called by Tacitus a plot among the relatives of this prince, but in which we have reason to suspect the hand of Rome, — hurled him from the throne; and deputies came to Augustus, begging him to give them as king Tigranes, another son of Artavasdes. This prince, brought up at Rome, would be nothing else than an imperial proconsul upon the throne of Armenia. Augustus at once sent him into Asia with Tiberius and an army. The army was unnecessary; the Armenians put Artaxias to death, and Tiberius, who had expected fighting, had only to place the crown upon the head of Tigranes.

At the news of these events the Parthians became alarmed. Since his victories over Antony, Phraates had passed through many vicissitudes. Twice driven from his kingdom by a competitor to whom, in case of reverses, Syria was always an asylum; twice

¹ See Vol. III. p. 649.

restored again by the Scythians, — he felt himself surrounded with enemies, and trembled at the faintest clash of arms on the banks of the Euphrates. In the year 23, when his rival Tiridates made ready, in the Roman provinces, to invade Parthia for the third time, Phraates demanded his extradition. He obtained only the restoration of a son long captive among the Romans, and was required in return to promise the restitution of the standards taken from Crassus. For three years he forgot to fulfil his promises; but the events in Armenia recalled them to his mind, and Augustus beheld the Parthians, basely renouncing their glory, give back to him the standards and the captives that they had taken in war.

By its effect upon men's minds this success was worth more than a victory; Augustus testified his gratitude to Phraates by rich presents. But there was perliody hidden among these gifts. The Emperor sent him a beautiful Italian, Thermusa by name, who gained such influence over the barbaric king that after having supplanted all her rivals and caused herself to be declared queen,² she persuaded Phraates to intrust all his children to Augustus. From that time forward Rome was in a position to respond to an invasion of the Parthians by plunging their kingdom into civil war. The successors of Augustus found the procedure wise, and often sent to the princes of the East presents of gold and silver vases of rich workmanship, costly stuffs, fine wines, but chiefly fair slave-girls.

The frontier of the Euphrates was therefore made secure by the four legions encamped in Syria³ and the subject states along



PHRAATES AND THERMUSA.¹

¹ ΒΑΣΙΛΑΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΑΕΩΝ. Bust of King Phraates. . . . ΜΟΥΣΗΣ ΘΕΑΣ. . . . Bust of Queen Musa, or Thermusa, coiffed with the tiara. Silver coin. [The right of coining gold did not belong to the client states. The Parthian Empire was not among these; but in the interests of its traders, whose gold was refused by the Romans, it only coined silver. — Ed.]

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3. Medals exist upon which is represented Thermusa as queen and goddess.

³ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 5. There was also a garrison at the passes between Syria and Cilicia.

the river-banks, by that Tigranes whom Tiberius had crowned in Armenia, and most of all by the Italian woman who reigned in Ctesiphon for the advantage of Rome, and strove to secure to her son Phraataces the affection and the crown of the old king. At Rome public opinion was expecting even more: men talked of conquests that were to give the Empire the ocean for a frontier, so that there should be on the earth one ruler supreme over the nations, as in heaven one sovereign divinity, master of Olympus.¹ Propertius, Tibullus, and Horace for a moment forgot their love-

SILVER VASE, FOUND IN GEORGIA.²

songs to celebrate the heroes who were about to overleap the Bactrian ramparts, to strip from their perfumed chiefs the linen garments they wore; to subjugate the Seres who rode upon iron-clad horses, the Getae of icy climes, and the sun-scorched Indian. Vergil shares in the general intoxication, and already beholds Augustus erecting triumphal columns at the two extremities of the world.³

But the Emperor, wiser than his poets, contented himself with obtaining from the Parthians an act of deference which might be construed as an act of submission, and provided himself with guaranties against them by giving himself the means of interfering

¹ *Coelo Tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare; praesens divus habebitur
Augustus.* — Hor., *Carm.* III. v. 1-3.

² This silver vase, cut in open-work upon a background of glass, was found in Georgia in 1871, and is now in the Museum of St. Petersburg.

³ Proper., *Carm.* III. iv. and xii.; IV. iii.; Tibullus, *Carm.* IV. i.; Hor., *Carm.* II. ix.; III. v.; *Epist.* I. xii.; Vergil, *Georg.* ii. 172; iii. 16

in their affairs. He had renewed the relations of Antony with Kanichka or his successor; and this powerful king of Bactriana, who, says Strabo, gave law to six hundred princes on the two shores of the Indus, sent him at Samos a sumptuous embassy, whose arrival made a great stir in the Empire, especially when, in the presence of Augustus, a philosopher who had come with the ambassadors took his place laughing upon the funeral pyre which he had caused to be prepared for himself at Athens.

Of more importance than the useless death of this conceited fool was the establishment of friendly relations with the Indian ruler, and no doubt with others, for the same policy was repeated all along the frontiers. In the Inscription of Ancyra Augustus enumerates complacently the nations who had sought his friendship, and boasts that he has been the first of all the Roman rulers to receive embassies from India; and he was right in being proud of this fact, for commerce was as much interested in these relations as statesmanship, — that is to say, it concerned the wealth as well as the peace of the Empire. During the entire reign of Augustus order was never once seriously disturbed in the East. The expedition sent there (1 A. D.) under the command of C. Caesar was less with the purpose of defending Syria, which was not in any way threatened, than with the design of attracting public attention to the young heir of Augustus, and gaining for him, at small cost, something of military renown. The king of Parthia came as far as the Euphrates to meet him, — a procedure which must have secured the tranquillity of those regions by showing that the two empires were closely united. Armenia was in some agitation; Caius entered this country, and after a few easy victories gave them as king Ariobarzanes the Median. Established between the Armenians and the Parthians, it was for the interest of the Medians to be on friendly terms with Rome. The alliance which they had offered to Antony¹ Augustus now sought. After the death of Ariobarzanes the Emperor allowed that prince's son to succeed him. The Median dynasty was thus established upon the throne of Armenia; but a national opposition seems to have arisen against these foreign rulers. Artavasdes was killed; and thereupon Augustus, abandoning an unsuccessful policy, gave to the

¹ Vol. III. p. 647.

Armenians a descendant, real or pretended, of their former kings, — one Tigranes, whose name is not given by ancient historians, but who appears on the Monument of Ancyra (No. 27).

An event which made less noise than these royal catastrophes, but is for us more significant, was the death of Lollius, whom the Emperor had appointed tutor to his grandson. This counsellor sold his influence to the Eastern kings, and in a short time had

AUGUSTUS AND ARTAVASDES.²

amassed a scandalous fortune; the king of Parthia, from whom he probably sought to extort too much, denounced him to Caius, and being at once disgraced, Lollius took poison.¹ We infer from this that

if proconsular methods were not entirely forgotten, it was, nevertheless, under great risks that they were now practised.

In Judaea, Herod had died four years before the commencement of our era; and Archelaos, his son, whom he had designated as his successor, dared not take the title of king without the Emperor's consent, who granted him merely that of ethnarch, with Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea. His cruelty causing violent tumults, Augustus, who would have none anywhere, required him to appear and answer to the accusations of his subjects, and exiled him to Vienna in Gaul, where he died (6 A. D.). While Judaea was periodically deluged with blood by the violent conduct of her petty kings and her factions, Syria was developing an undisturbed prosperity, in the enjoyment of the profound peace which the Roman power bestowed. Won at last by the contrast, the Jews asked and obtained the annexation of their country to the imperial territory. The change was most simple; a king and court, with endless intrigues and exactions, disappeared from Palestine, and in their place there was a Roman procurator,

COIN OF HEROD ARCHELAOS.³

¹ Vell. Paterc., ii. 101, 102; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 58.

² ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΠΙΤΕΟΥ. Laurelled head of Augustus. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΘΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΥΑΣΔΟΥ. Diademed head of Artavasdes II. Unique denarius in the British Museum, published in the *Dict. de Numism.* i. p. 437, No. 930.

³ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. Bunch of grapes. On the reverse, a helmet and ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ. Bronze coin.

having the *jus gladii*, although placed under the supreme authority of the governor of Syria. The country preserved its religion, its municipal liberties, and its judicial rights, with the single exception that its magistrates could not execute the death penalty



L. Thuillier. Del.

MAP FOR THE EXPEDITION OF GALLUS AND PETRONIUS (NEXT PAGE).

without the sanction of the procurator. This was a precaution against local animosities and a safeguard for the condemned.

In the southern part of the Empire a few wars had occurred before and during the sojourn of Augustus in the East. Every

year numerous fleets traversed the Red Sea on their way to India, and, navigating a dangerous sea, had need of ports of shelter along the route. Augustus formed the design of subjugating the nations along these shores, and of laying hands upon Arabia Felix, which the ancient world believed to be full of marvellous riches. In 24 B. C. Aelius Gallus set out from Egypt with ten thousand soldiers, guided by a Nabathæan chief.¹ These Arabs, whose capital was the commercial centre of the peninsula, were interested in causing the failure of this expedition. Gallus, deceived by his guide, wandered for six months through the desert: he, however, took several places, and penetrated till within two days' journey of "the Frankineense country;" but disease and lack of provisions compelled him to retrace his steps.²

Meanwhile the Candace, or queen of Ethiopia, believing Egypt deprived of troops, invaded it and captured Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ (22 B. C.). Petronius, with but ten thousand men, drove out the Ethiopians, followed them a distance of nine hundred and seventy miles,³ as far as their capital, Napata, which he took. A second attack made by the Candace upon a post that the prefect had fortified, five days' journey southward from Philæ, was so unsuccessful that the queen consented to pay tribute and to send ambassadors to Augustus. He received them at Samos, whither came also the Indian and Seythian deputies bringing gifts.⁴ Content with having made the Ethiopians feel that the deserts did not place them beyond reach, he had the prudence to remit the tribute.

This double expedition on the two shores of the Arabian Gulf had not succeeded; it had, however, carried the Roman name and a salutary fear of Rome into these regions, and the commerce of the Red Sea became more active in consequence.⁵

¹ We follow the chronology of Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* Strabo, however, who was the friend of Gallus, places the expedition of the Candace at the same time with that of the Romans into Arabia. These difficulties are not irreconcilable. Gallus, who left Egypt in the year 24, passed the summer and winter at Leuce Come, wandered for six months of the year 23 in the deserts, returning at last in two months to the shore of the Red Sea, may very easily have been absent from Egypt until the beginning of the year 22.

² Gosselin places the city of Marsyaba, where the Roman general turned back, two days' journey from Mecca; M. Fresnel, in the heart of Hadramant (*Journal Asiat.*, July and September, 1840); M. Noël des Vergers and M. Caussin de Perceval incline to Yemen.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 29.

⁴ Strabo, xvii. p. 821, and xv. p. 719.

⁵ The Emperor's grandson Caius carried the Roman standards into Arabia later, and as

The Fasti Capitolini place in this year (21 B. C.) a triumph of Sempronius Atratinus, for successes in Africa, and in the year 19 another African triumph, decreed to Cornelius Balbus.¹ This African proconsul had followed the track of the early Carthaginian traders as far as Fezzan,² a great oasis which has always been the chief market of Northern Africa. It is the meeting-place



MAP FOR THE EXPEDITION OF CORNELIUS BALBUS.

of caravans from Morocco and from Egypt, from Soudan and from the shores of the Mediterranean, and is said to contain a hundred villages. Balbus united this region to the province of Africa;³ and at the present day may still be seen, on the frontier at the well of Bonjem, a Roman structure built of enormous blocks of stone, once a station of the imperial troops.⁴

far as the shores of the Red Sea, where, if we may believe Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* ii. 67), he recognized fragments of Spanish vessels which had been wrecked there.

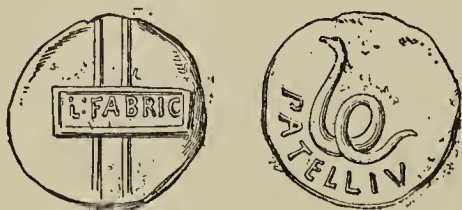
¹ Florus (iv. 12) speaks of a successful expedition of Quirinius against the Marmarides and the Garamantes.

² The capital of this region, Mourzook, is thirty-five days' journey from Tripoli. Cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, part i. 3, 989. Captain Lyon (*A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa*), who set out from Mourzook the 9th of February, 1820, reached the Mediterranean, between Lebida and Mesurata, on the 18th of March, having rested six days while on the way (chap. ix.).

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 3. The two principal places taken by Balbus were Cydamus (Ghadames), eighty leagues from Tripoli, and Garamah (Germah), much more remote.

⁴ The inscription upon it bears the name of Septimius Severus. (Lyon's *Narrative*, vii.

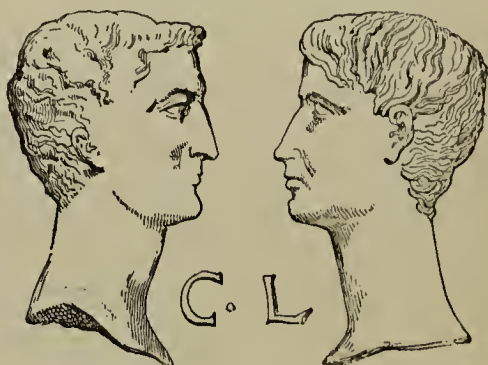
In Africa, then, the Romans made their way across the desert to renew the early commercial relations of Carthage, the Cyrenaeans and Egypt with the markets of the interior, and their fleets ventured to traverse the Indian Ocean. Upon this frontier the policy of Augustus was altogether commercial, active, and enterprising, and therefrom resulted for these provinces a prosperity greater and more durable than at any other point of the Empire.



COIN OF A PROCONSUL OF THE
CYRENAICA.¹

In Asia, where he found himself in the presence of old states whose resources he knew, he had been firm but reserved, using diplomacy rather than force; and he had laid the foundations of that system of influence and pacific intervention which caused peace to prevail so

long upon the banks of the Euphrates. And so, when, after three well-occupied years (21–19), he returned to Rome, which Egnatius Rufus had lately been agitating in the name of the liberty of the comitia, the people, forgetting the complaints and counsels of this designing person, whom they had for a moment followed as the crowd follows any novelty, hastened to welcome Augustus, and offered him the consulship for life and the censorship under the new designation of *praefectura morum*. In this conduct there was neither weakness nor cowardice; for all men were under the spell,—all accepted this sway which, seeking only for peace, found victory also,—and men repeated in Horace's verses that the queen of Ethiopia was a fugitive, Armenia almost wholly subdued, the Dacians conquered, and that in the presence of a court formed by the deputies of all nations, a Parthian chief had knelt before



CAIUS AND LUCIUS CAESAR.²

240.) This traveller found, in 1819, the great oasis extremely arid; but he regards it as the necessary stage for those persons seeking to pass through from Tripoli to Soudan.

¹ Bronze coin of L. FABRICIUS PATELLIVS, first proconsul of the Cyrenaica after the division of the provinces made by Augustus in the year 27 B. C.

² From a bronze coin struck at Corinth.

Augustus and accepted a crown from the Emperor's hands.¹ Nothing had ever flattered the Roman pride so much as this apparent submission of an enemy reputed invincible. In memory of this bloodless victory an arch of triumph was erected to him who had delivered the captive eagles, and the standards themselves were placed in the temple of Mars Ultor, where all kings soliciting the friendship of Augustus were required to attest their fidelity in presence of these reconquered trophies.²

Augustus was now at the height of his prosperity. Peace prevailed along the frontiers, anarchy had been subdued at home, and good laws with wise reforms justified his power. Around him were grouped a numerous family and many men of genius. Octavia was yet alive; Julia, at this time the wife of Agrippa, and protected against her own vices by her husband's virtues, was the mother of sons and daughters; two of these princes, Caius and Lucius, adopted by their grandfather, were destined to continue the imperial race;³ and Livia as yet had not begun to regard them as the rivals of her son

LUCIUS CAESAR.⁴

Tiberius. The latter up to this time had exhibited only his talents, while Drusus, beloved of the people and the army, was about to have the opportunity of displaying his courage.

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 21; Justin, XLII. v.; Hor., *Epist.* I. xii.; *Carm.* I. xi.; II. iv. 8.

² See (Vol. III. p. 750) the ruins of this temple, and (p. 749) the restoration which has been made of it.

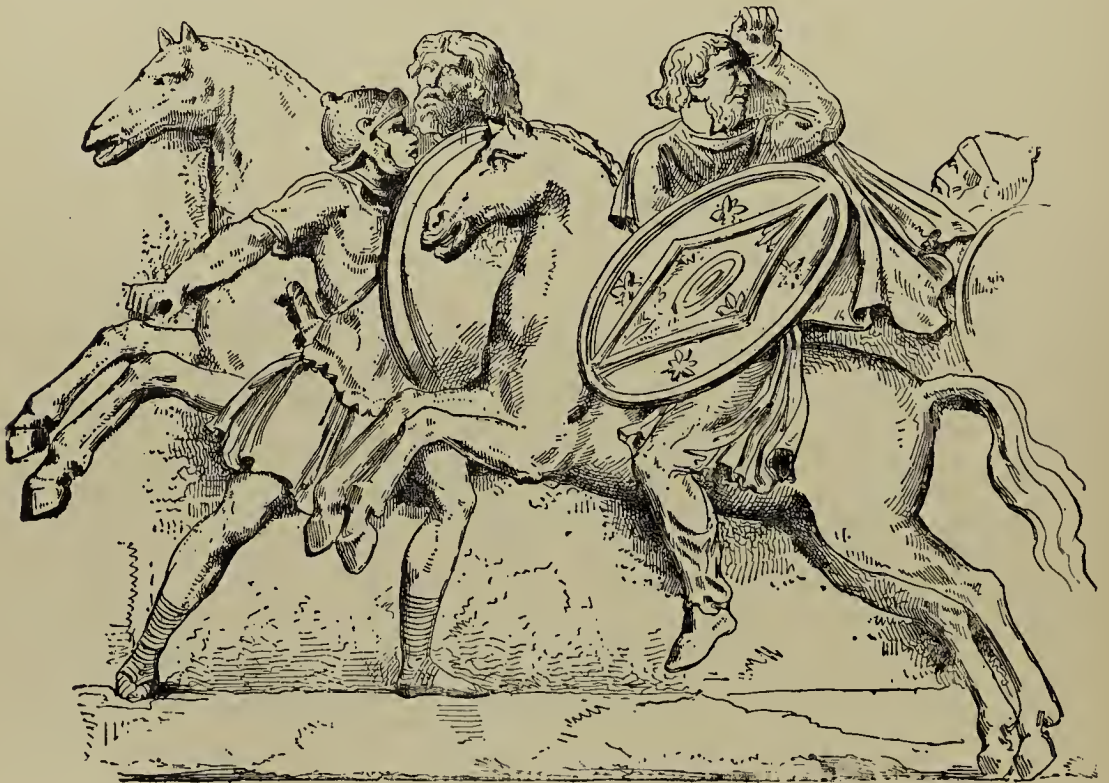
³ One born in 20, the other in 17 B. C.

⁴ Lucius Caesar, son of Agrippa; statue found at Telesia, near Capua (Museum of Naples).

Some clouds, however, were beginning to gather on this brilliant horizon. Marcellus was dead; and poetry was veiled in mourning, for the epic bard lay dying (19 B. C.) at Brundisium, and Tibullus shortly followed him to the tomb. But the death of Marcellus, who might possibly have disappointed the hopes he raised, was the means of restoring Agrippa to the Empire; Ovid and Propertius filled the place left vacant by Tibullus, and the Muses could share between Horace and Livy the wreath fallen from Vergil's brow.

II.—THE FRONTIER OF THE RHINE AND THE DANUBE.

THE first blow to this wonderful prosperity came from the quarter whence were to come all the dangers of the Empire,—from the banks of the Rhine. Certain of the Sicambri, Usipetes, and



GERMAN CAVALRY ATTACKING THE ROMANS.¹

Tencteri had crossed the river, defeated a force of Roman cavalry, and captured from Lollius the eagle of the fifth legion. To this

¹ From the column of Antoninus.



MAP FOR THE WARS OF THE ROMAN



N GERMANY AND UPON THE MIDDLE DANUBE.

Geo. H. Walker & Co. Lith. Design.

attack, as to a concerted signal, responded a long war-cry from all the bank of the Danube, and the barbaric world seemed to rise in arms like one man. Istria and Macedon were invaded, and the Roman vassal in Thrace, Rhoemetalces, called the legions to his aid against the Bessi and the Sauromatae (17 and 16 B. C.).¹ Augustus, although taken by surprise, acted with resolution. He re-opened the temple of Janus, and dividing, as he had before done, the administration of the Empire with his son-in-law Agrippa, who was at this time associated with himself for five years in the tribunitian power, he sent him into Syria, to make sure that this tumult should have no echo in the East. He himself, a few months later, went into Gaul (16 B. C.). Upon his approach, the Sicambri retired into their forests after having given hostages, and the imperial lieutenants in Germany, Pannonia, Noricum, and Thrace, everywhere resuming the offensive, subdued the revolt, or drove back across the Rhine and Danube the tribes that had crossed these rivers. The lieutenant in Germany, Domitius Ahenobarbus, outstripping the boldest of his predecessors, even carried his eagles across the Elbe, made an alliance with the inhabitants and erected in their midst an altar to Augustus, for the purpose of attracting these people to a respect for the Empire and its divinities.² The altar of the Ubians was the sign erected by Rome on the banks of the Rhine to call about her the Germans of the West; that of Domitius, if it should last, would be a centre whence Roman influence would radiate throughout the region between the Elbe and the Oder (15 B. C.). On his return Domitius constructed across the marshy plains which lie between the Ems and the Weser the *Pontes longi*. With the sword the Romans gained their battles, and with fortresses and roads they made their victories secure.

Between Gaul and Pannonia the frontier of the Empire was broken by the Alps, that fortress of Central Europe which was occupied by poor and savage mountaineers. Whatever they had not they took by violence, and their incursions desolated the rich plains which lay beneath them. We may remember the despair of

¹ Dion, liv. 20. In the year 27 B. C. Crassus had triumphed over the Bessi and the Bastarnae (*Id.* li. 24).

² Dion, liv. 20.

the Helvetii, who decided to abandon their homes to escape from



THE ELDER DRUSUS.²

these attacks, which it was alike impossible to foresee and to avenge. The inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul had been equally unfortunate. Augustus, to bring this state of things to an end, despatched Drusus and Tiberius to subjugate the Rhaetians. The two brothers, setting out simultaneously from Italy and from Gaul, met in Rhaetia; and the Barbarians, pursued across their lakes and tracked over their mountains, yielded to Roman discipline.¹ As had been done by Agrippa in the case of the Cantabri, these mountain tribes were torn from the country where they would have forever remembered their past freedom, only enough

men being left there for the cultivation of the fields. The same fate was meted out to the inhabitants of Noricum and to the Taurisci.

The conquerors at once became pioneers, laying out roads and building forts; and Augustus boldly threw out, beyond the mountains and the Rhine, and but a short distance from the Danube, a great colony, Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg). Communicating with Italy by a road through the country of the Grisons, and built on the bank of a stream, the Lech, which falls into one of the two great rivers of Germany



THE ELDER DRUSUS.

¹ Hor., *Carm.* IV. iv. 17; Strabo, vii. 292.

² *Cabinet de France*; a gift of the Duc de Luyne. This very expressive head, found in Samnium in 1848, has for some time borne the name of Drusus, son of Livia. This designation is far from certain; but from its style we may fix the date of this bronze in the first century of the Christian era, and may regard this personage as a contemporary of Augustus.

and rises near the other, the capital of the new provinces was well situated to guard the most vulnerable part of the Roman frontier on the side of Germany.¹ Lower down upon the Danube, at the point where Noricum touches Pannonia, a very strong place, Carnuntum,² was built to hold the two provinces in check. Augustus, from Gaul, superintended these important operations, being detained there by the necessity of perfecting the organization of that country.³ When he left Gaul he appointed Drusus to keep watch on the Rhine; and so it was the Emperor's son, one of the heirs of his power, who now took up his abode in these rude countries to protect them against the barbarians,—an instance of solicitude for new subjects which had never before been shown in the history of Rome.

At the opposite extremity of the Empire Agrippa visited Judaea, where he sacrificed in the temple of Jerusalem; and he also made a tour through all the Oriental provinces. Details are wanting of his labors; historians only speak of Berytus, raised by him from its ruins, and of a solemn judicial decision which put an end to the long quarrels of the Jews and Greeks in the cities of Asia.⁴ But we know his activity and his devotion to the public good, and we may be sure that the skilful administrator and formidable warrior employed usefully, and for the welfare of the provinces, this sojourn of four years in the East. Not once was he obliged to resort to the sword, although he made himself master of a kingdom. A certain Scribonius, who gave himself out to be the grandson of the great Mithridates, had seized upon the Cimmerian Bosphorus, where, some time later, he had been murdered by his subjects. To put an end to disturbances which interfered with the commercial transactions of which that state was the centre, the Roman general decided to unite it to the kingdom of Pontus, and accordingly ordered Polemon to take possession of the Bosphorus. Augustus, for the sake of having

¹ Rhaetia and Vindelicia were not considered provinces until the reign of Tiberius (Vell. Patere., ii. 39).

² The date is not known; but in the year 5 A. D. it served as a military depot (Vell. Patere., ii. 109).

³ Many of the colonies of Augustus in Spain and Gaul date from this epoch (Dion, liv. 23 and 25).

⁴ Strabo, xvi. 756; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 2.

peace upon the frontiers, sought to fortify the petty states, subjects of the Empire, with as much care as, in early days, the Senate had bestowed upon enfeebling them. The inhabitants in this case resisted; but the news that Agrippa was approaching Sinope with a fleet under the command of Herod, sufficed to make them lay down their arms. Interested by his position, which made him



• AUGUSTUS.¹

and his children the heirs of the Emperor, in promoting by his own example the habits suited to a monarchy, Agrippa refused the triumph which was decreed to him. His conduct made a precedent for the other generals, and the most brilliant victories no longer brought the triumphal insignia to those who had gained them. We ought not, however, to regard this self-abnegation as unworthy flattery, nor to see ridiculous vanity in the ruler who himself went up to the Capitol upon the news of his lieutenants' victories. In this nation of soldiers the military

idea had been overmastered by the religious; for them the real conqueror was the imperator who had obtained the favorable auspices, and not the general who had fought in the field. Many, it is true, no longer gave credence to the idea of divine favor attested by the entrails of the victims, but still the custom lasted.

¹ Bust found at Gabii (Museum of the Louvre).

The modesty of Agrippa was suggested by that of the ruler himself. On his return from Gaul Augustus entered the city by night. On the morrow, after having saluted the people, who had gathered about his dwelling, he went to the Capitol to deposit before the statue of Jupiter the laurels with which his fasces were wreathed, and then to the curia to give an account to the Senate there assembled of all that he had done since his departure from Rome.

Peace being everywhere restored or maintained, the two chiefs of the Empire returned to Rome at about the same time (13 B. C.). Augustus now accepted the office of pontifex maximus, and Agrippa was continued for five years in the tribunitian authority. But the busy life of this great minister was nearing its end. Being sent against the Pannonians, who were in revolt, he had only to appear and at once receive their submission; and he was returning, when an attack of illness arrested him in Campania. Augustus, who received the news



AGRIPPA.¹

while witnessing public games, hastened to the spot, but arrived too late to see his son-in-law alive (March, 12 B. C.). The Emperor's grief was deep, for he lost in Agrippa less a lieutenant than a friend and indispensable colleague, before whom all ambition held its peace. Nothing had so much contributed to the security of the new government as the example of this Roman of the old school, as rich in valor and renown as the greatest men of the Republic, but effacing himself willingly before the ruler and giving him all the glory. Posterity, which has especially admired Maecenas,

¹ Bust found at Gabii (Museum of the Louvre).

has been unjust towards this indefatigable worker, for whom power was but the obligation to act unremittingly for the public good. But if since the battle of Actium the Empire had been at last governed and no longer given up to pillage, a great share in that change must be ascribed to the man whom we find always busy in the promotion of the public interest. Let him then remain associated with the fame of Augustus, as he was with the labors of the Emperor, whether in the Senate, in magistracies, in council, or upon fields of battle!¹

His death left in the imperial family a void which could not be filled, and marked the beginning of that second period of long reigns which is so often sad and enfeebled. From that day solitude and mourning constantly deepened around Augustus. Already Maecenas seems to be in disgrace,² and Horace refuses the overtures made him by the master of the world. Surrounded by intrigues and plots, persuaded into dangerous wars, smitten with a great public disaster, Augustus was destined to see his near relatives die one after another, or live to cover his house with infamy, and at seventy-six years of age to be left, the survivor of his children, his friends, and his great men, alone with Tiberius.

The work roughly sketched out during the second sojourn of Augustus on the other side of the Alps, had need to be taken up again and carried forward. Drusus, left in Gaul to complete the census and keep watch upon the Germans, attached the provincials to himself by his affable manners, and brought them to make the demonstration of which mention has been made (p. 188), — the erection of a temple to Rome and Augustus. The docility of Gallia Comata leaving him free from anxiety in respect to his rear, he crossed the Rhine, carefully inspected the right bank, constructed

¹ Dion, liv. 28. He was fifty-one years of age (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 8). Augustus pronounced his funeral oration, and caused him to be buried in the imperial tomb.

² Tacitus, at least, says this (*Ann.* iii. 30): *Aetate propecta, speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit*; and he adds a fine sentence in regard to the fatality of power which cannot last forever, and the disgust which seizes princes who have given all, and favorites who have obtained all. Pliny, much more simply and truly, says (vii. 52) that Maecenas suffered for a long time from a nervous malady and from a feverish condition, which "during the last three years of his life never allowed him an hour's sleep." It is plain that a counsellor in such a condition of health could have been but rarely consulted. How often the grand style of Tacitus covers emptiness or error!

forts to guard the fords, and, these precautions being completed, prepared for a serious expedition. The extensive plain of Northern Germany is intersected by three rivers, — the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, — which, running northward, form a series of lines of defence against an enemy coming from the Rhine. But should this enemy arrive by sea, these rivers give him access to the interior of the country. Drusus took this latter route, which brought him rapidly upon the rear of the most turbulent of the German tribes. To avoid the dangerous navigation along the Batavian coast, he made a canal (*Fossa Drusiana*) from the Rhine to the Yssel,¹ by which his vessels passed through to the Flevo Lacus (Zuyder Zee), whose outlet was into the North Sea. The Frisii having allowed themselves to be gained over, Drusus boldly sailed up the Ems, where he defeated the Bructeri in a naval engagement, and then advanced as far as the mouths of the Weser, where his vessels, stranded at low tide, would have been destroyed by the Chauci, had not the Frisii, who were following his movements by land, arrived in time to relieve him.

This first expedition either frightened or persuaded into alliance with Rome the Northern tribes, long hostile to their neighbors of the South; among others, the Chauci, who gained by their defection this eulogium from Tacitus: "The most noble among the German tribes, who support their greatness by right conduct." But the Sicambri, Cherusci, and Suevi, forgetting their former quarrels, united their forces against the invading Romans. The Catti, a powerful people, whose infantry was renowned, refused to join the league. "Others go forth to battle," says Tacitus, "but the Catti to war." The Sicambri, to punish what they regarded as treason, invaded the country of the Catti. Drusus seized the occasion. He threw a bridge across the Rhine near the mouth of the Lippe, — an operation since Caesar's time of no great difficulty; and a second time he penetrated as far as the Weser. Arrested on the banks of this river by a lack of provisions, he retired. But his return was a succession of conflicts; and near the sources of

¹ Upon his return he made search for the Pillars of Hereules, — a confused tradition perhaps left upon these shores by some Carthaginian navigator. "Drusus was not lacking in boldness," says Tacitus; "but Oceanus guarded the secrets of Hereules and his own. Thereafter no man made the attempt; it was judged more devout and reverential to believe in the works of the gods than to investigate them."

the Lippe, the Roman army, hemmed in on every side, seemed near some great disaster. The Barbarians, who had burned alive twenty centurions, were already agreeing upon a division of the spoils: to the Sicambri, the captives; to the Suevi, the silver and gold; to the Cherusci, the horses. A vigorous effort delivered the legions and dispelled the Barbarian dreams of victory. Drusus built here the fortress Aliso (Hamm, or Elsen, near Paderborn), and left a garrison in it, to serve as a base for subsequent operations; and a second fort, built nearer the Rhine, united this outpost with the main line of the Roman defences (11 B. C.).

By the recent subjugation of the Rhaeti and Vindelici, Rome had approached the Danube; but this river still belonged to the Barbarians. During the campaigns of Drusus in Germany they rose in arms, and from Noricum to the Euxine all the country was in a blaze. In Thrace, Augustus, to reward the fidelity of the Odrysi, had given up to them some lands of the Bessi which had been consecrated to Bacchus. A priest of this god made an appeal to arms, beginning by the murder of one of the two sons of Cotys and the expulsion of the other's tutor, Rhoemetalces, who was driven as far as the Chersonesus. The whole of

RHOEMETALCES.¹

Thrace was lost, and even Macedon invaded. L. Piso, a skilful general, delivered these provinces after an arduous struggle, and Rhoemetalces, being declared king, received the injunction to watch more carefully over the peace of these regions. It would seem that he acquitted himself successfully in this task, for later he was in a position to furnish useful assistance against the Dalmatians and Pannonians.

In this quarter the war was conducted by Tiberius. In the year 12 B. C. he devastated the whole country of Pannonia, disarmed the population, and sold the bravest as slaves. But a year later this people had recovered weapons and warriors; the Dalmatians, excited by the general awakening among the barbaric nationalities, also broke off their relations with Rome; and Augustus, in alarm, again saw war at the gates of Italy.² Tiberius dispelled the

¹ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΚΟΥ (of the king Rhoemetalces). The medals of this prince have the praenomens of Caius Julius and the head of Augustus.

² It was on this occasion that Dalmatia was made one of the imperial provinces (Dion, liv. 31).

danger by his activity, and deservedly shared the honors decreed to Drusus for the successes across the Rhine.

The repeated defeats of the Dalmatians and Pannonians, the friendship of the great nation of the Scordisci, and the vigilance of Rhoemetalces giving promise of a lasting peace along the Danube, Augustus formed the design of visiting and examining the other frontier, — namely, that of the Rhine; and in the year 12 B.C. he went into Gaul a third time, accompanied by Tiberius and Drusus. The situation must have been very grave to bring the three chiefs of the Empire into this province at the same time. Augustus expected by his presence to increase the affection of the Gauls for Rome,¹ and he also wished to determine the measures which should be adopted in carrying on that war in Germany which was always successful and always unprofitable. Notwithstanding the pacific character of his intentions, he knew perfectly well that the Empire could not halt at the Rhine. To remain the peaceful master of the left bank it was needful to rule far



ALTAR AT MAYENCE (DETAILS).

across the river. There were, then, two sorts of operations to be carried on, — one class defensive, to render the position on the Rhine absolutely impregnable; the other offensive, to carry terror into the midst of the German tribes and render them, if not obedient, at least quiet. Augustus concerned himself especially with the former. With the intention of subjecting this frontier to a more active surveillance he separated the Rhine valley from Belgica, and formed two governments, — Germania Superior and Inferior.²

¹ Gallic auxiliaries served in the army of Drusus, among whom the Nervii distinguished themselves (Livy, *Epit.* cxxxix.). After the defeat of Varus, the Belgae offered to attack the Germans and avenge his death (Tac., *Ann.* i. 43).

² We have not the exact date of this partition, but it appears to have been effected in the time of Augustus; for in the year 9 A. D. Cologne had, like Lyons, an altar to Rome and

To defend the passage of the river he constructed a line of fifty forts, resting on Mayence, Bonn, and Xanten. Opposite Mayence fortifications were begun upon the Taunus, which were destined to extend across the entire Hercynian Forest. Then where the river, growing wider, becomes at the same time shallower and less rapid, a second line of defence was established behind the first by intrenched posts upon the Meuse.¹ To these measures were joined the founding of Gallic colonies in Suabia,—an open territory through which the Germans might come, between the Rhine and the Danube, into the Roman possessions. Emigration, encouraged by the governors of Gaul, brought into the *agri decumates*, or tithe-paying lands, a crowd of adventurers, who



ALTAR OF MAYENCE.³

protected this weak point in the Gallo-Rhaetic frontier.² The city of the Rauraci (Augst, near Basle), in the great bend of the Rhine, commenced by Planus, the founder of Lyons, received new accessions; and two legions established, one in Upper Alsace, the other at Vindonissa, among the Helvetii, closed that gap of the Jura and the Vosges through which Ariovistus had passed.

All these points were well selected to make the Rhine an impassable barrier, and they were also admirable points whence to take the offensive; for from their camps the legions could be flung into the very centre of Germany. Two great branches of the Rhine come down from the Bohemian and the Hartz mountains,—the Mein, which falls into the

Augustus, with an elected *sacerdos*,—which leads us to suppose a provincial organization (Tac., *Ann* i. 39. 75). Upper Germany extended from the Aar to the Moselle; Lower Germany from the Moselle to the sea.

¹ Dion, liv. 33, and Florus, iv. 12. The works upon the Meuse mentioned by Florus probably belong to a later epoch.

² Tac., *Germ.* 29.

³ A stone altar, found at Mayence in 1574, and now in the Library of Hesse Cassel.

Rhine opposite Mayence, and the Lippe, which unites with the main river not far from Vetera Castra, after flowing between the marshy country of the Bructeri and the wooded hills of the Sicambri. The legions at Vetera, therefore, saw open before them the broad valley of the Lippe, giving them access to the country of the Cherusci; and those at Mayence kept watch over and threatened the extensive basin traversed by the Mein; and from Cologne it was easy to reach the Weser by way of the point where the Sudeti end and the Hartz begin.

Augustus was surprised in the midst of these labors by rumors of war breaking out upon the double frontier which he believed already pacified. The Dalmatians revolted; the Dacians, crossing the Danube upon the ice, invaded the Panno-



GERMAN AUXILIARY.

nian territory; and the Catti, now in concert with the Sicambri, because the Romans were endeavoring to compel them to change their abode, again took arms. The two sons of Livia hastened against these enemies, with whom they were already acquainted. Tiberius readily gained a victory over the Dalmatians and subdued their turbulence, compelling them to turn their activity in the direction of mining.¹ In the Danubian provinces he posted

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 110.

his garrisons so skilfully that peace was re-established there for fifteen years. The Roman merchants came thither in crowds, and brought with them the manners and language of Italy. "A knowledge of the discipline, and even of the speech, of Rome," says an eye-witness, "was spread abroad among the Pannonians; many cultivated letters and familiarized themselves with intellectual exercises."¹ Sirmium, Siscia, and Salone were the principal centres whence radiated the Roman influence.

Drusus, on his part, was resolved to reduce Germany also to the condition of a province. Aided by Barbarian auxiliaries, he subjugated the Catti; and then falling upon the Marcomanni on the banks of the Mein, he drove them eastward. This success set free the right bank of the Rhine opposite Mayence. To deal a blow at the northern tribes, as well as at those of Central Germany, he traversed the country of the Cherusci as far as the Elbe, raised a trophy upon its bank, and received there the ambassadors of the Cimbri who came to beg for his friendship. The Cimbri and the Romans had met once before, upon the banks of the Po; they now met face to face again on the remotest confines of Germany: such progress had been made in a century by the arms of Rome! Drusus sent the Cimbrian deputies to his father; and imperial Rome saw these formidable enemies of the Republic bring an offering to Augustus, as to a god, of the instruments used by them in their sacrifices.²

Winter approaching, Drusus was returning to his headquarters, when he received a mortal injury by the fall of his horse. Tiberius, who was then at Pavia, crossed the Alps in the greatest haste, and arrived in time to receive his brother's last embraces. This valiant prince was but thirty years of age, and his death was an irreparable misfortune to the Emperor. Drusus had specially devoted himself to the conquest of Germany,—a difficult task, which, had he lived to accomplish it, would have given Gaul a very needful rampart. At Rome men talked of his republican sentiments,³ as they did of those of Marcellus and Agrippa, and, later, of Germanicus, and of all those placed

¹ Florus, iv. 12.

² Strabo, vii. 203.

³ Tac., *Ann.* i. 33; ii. 41, 82; Suet., *Claud.* 1.

by their birth beside the throne. It is the old policy, and yet forever new, of heirs presumptive, or, as in the present case, of those who wish to make use of them. Augustus was right in

ARCH OF DRUSUS.¹

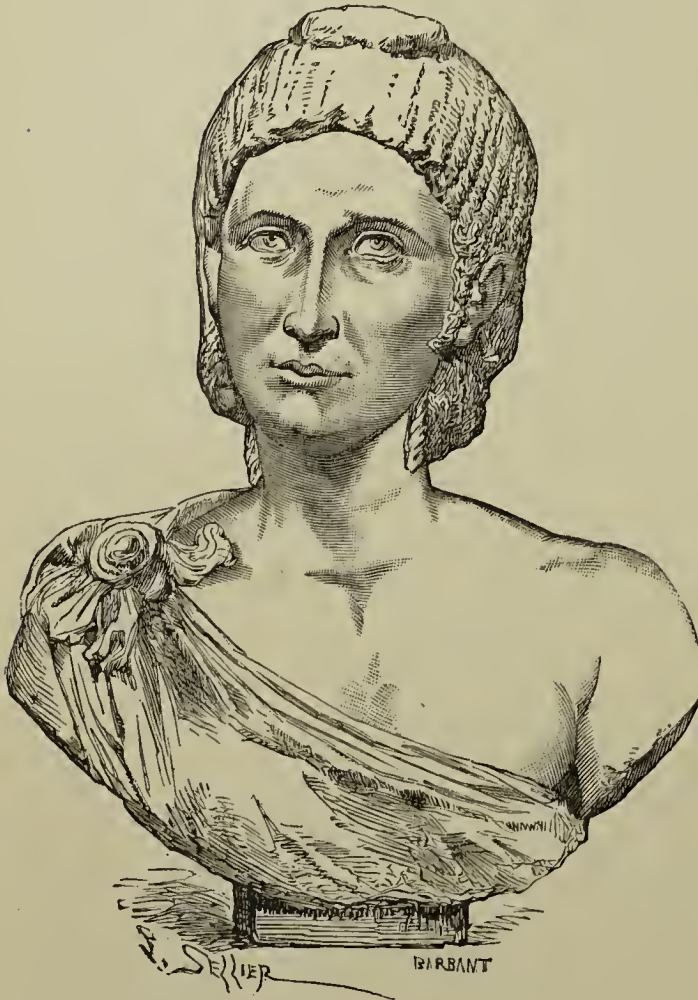
relying upon the fidelity of Drusus no less than upon his ability, and even in regarding him as the protector of the children of Julia. He had caused to be erected in honor of Drusus a triumphal arch, which is yet standing in Rome at the entrance of the

¹ From a photograph.

Appian Way. Stripped of the marble which covered it, this arch has the sombre aspect suited to a monument of victory which so soon became a monument of universal mourning.

In the year 8 B.C. Augustus visited Gaul a fourth time, accompanied by Caius Caesar, the eldest of Agrippa's sons, and by

Tiberius, whom he had lately compelled to marry Julia. An odious act of treachery caused the renewal of hostilities. All the German tribes, with the exception of the Sicambri, had sent ambassadors to Augustus; but using this exception as a pretext, he had refused the desired peace. Upon this the Sicambri, to avoid causing a war, followed the general example; and the Emperor, as soon as he had all the chiefs of Germany in his power, seized them and imprisoned them in various Gallic cities, where, from grief and shame,



JULIA, DAUGHTER OF AUGUSTUS.¹

they ended their lives by suicide.² Victory was on the side of injustice; Tiberius, at the head of the legions of Drusus, conquered the Sicambri and transplanted forty thousand Barbarians into Gaul. A part of the Catti, driven from their own lands by civil war, obtained permission to establish themselves in the Insula Batavorum, on the single condition of putting their valor at the service of the Empire.³

¹ Bust in the Museum of Naples, No. 141 of the catalogue.

² Suet., *Octav.* 21; Tac., *Germ.* 29.

³ Dion, *lv.* 6.

Roman policy thus filled the left bank of the Rhine with inhabitants and sought to depopulate the right bank, — a useless measure, for these tribes, crowded back upon themselves, were sure soon to return to the places whence they had been driven out; a dangerous measure, moreover, for, with the establishment of the Germans in Gaul begins that system of colonization of the frontiers which was to give the Barbarians the duty of guarding the gates of the Empire. The historic mission imposed upon Rome by Caesar's conquest was to bear Roman civilization to the Rhine. In Germanizing Eastern Gaul, Augustus failed in this duty; and his policy, continued by later Emperors, rendered possible the success of the invasions which have rendered German the Gallic bank of the great river.¹

The victories of Tiberius seemed to have quite subjugated the Germans. Augustus decreed himself the honor of extending the pomerium, as he had enlarged the limits of the Empire (8 B. C.).² For the third time he closed the temple of Janus; and during twelve years these gates, whence war issued forth, were never once opened. It was amidst this silence of armies that He was born who came to teach men that in heaven there was but one God, and on earth should be but one dogma, — brotherly love.⁴

PHRAATACES.³

This universal peace was not, however, so complete that the Emperor could fear for his legions the dangerous idleness of camp-life. In his anxiety to consolidate the Roman power upon the Rhine and the Danube, he had almost forgotten the Euphrates; when troubles in Armenia and the intervention of the Parthians in the affairs of that kingdom, which Rome was bound to protect,

¹ The Germans applaud this policy; in these colonists they recognize the pioneers of future Germanic invasions (Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian*, p. 55). While Minister of Public Instruction, I made all the efforts which the law did not prohibit to replace German by French in the primary schools of the German cantons of Lorraine. Unfortunately the local clergy believed it their interest to oppose these measures.

² Vell. Patere., ii. 97; Dion, iv. 6.

³ King Phraataces, crowned by a Victory, from a silver coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁴ The date of Christ's birth is in the year of Rome 747, according to Fisher, Ideler, and Reynold; 749 according to Clinton and Zumpt. Saint Luke and Saint Matthew represent that Jesus was born about two years before the death of Herod, who certainly died in 750. The Christian era ought, therefore, to be set back four or five years.

obliged him, if he would not see undone the work of his best years, to send his grandson Caius into the East (1 B. C. — 4 A. D.). The young prince first visited Egypt; then, with a considerable army, traversed the Nabathæan country, Palestine, and Syria, and entered Armenia, where he placed upon the throne a vassal of the Empire. This was a new reconnoitring of the Oriental frontiers, like that made by Augustus in the year 30 B. C., and a second time in 20, and again by Agrippa five years later. It was without serious danger; for, as the price of abandoning Armenia to the Empire, the Parthian king, son of that crafty Italian woman given by Augustus to Phraates, asked one thing only, — that his brothers be kept in Rome.¹ A few years later the incestuous and parricidal Phraataces was murdered, together with his mother, by his outraged subjects. Orodes, whom they proclaimed in his stead, soon showed himself so cruel that assassination relieved them of him also, and their deputies came to Rome to seek a king. Augustus gave them Vonones. A monarchy so disturbed as this could cause him no anxiety.

In Germany the legions also scoured the country every year, to show the Roman eagles to the Barbarians. In the years 4 and



VONONES, OR ARSACES
XVIII. (SILVER COIN.)

5 A. D. Tiberius came again to take the command during two campaigns. He again advanced by land as far as the Elbe, while a fleet came round by sea; and he established his winter quarters in the heart of Germany. This innovation was more menacing than the periodical expeditions of the legions, for from the camps Roman influence was sure to spread among the neighboring tribes. Officers and soldiers, thrown into daily relations with the Barbarians, would make, by the presence of civilization, a war upon their manners and customs more dangerous to liberty than any blows struck upon the field of battle. Already many of their chiefs had made the journey to Rome, there to learn gentler manners and to receive the gold ring of the equestrian order. Some

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3. According to Saint Martin, Phraates was still alive, but Phraataces, the son of Thermusa, had assumed the title of king. The young prince murdered his father in the year 9 A. D. As the subject of Judæa will occupy our attention later, I have merely indicated that this province was reduced in the year 6.

of their most conspicuous men had become completely Romanized, and Germany had entered on the path where Gallic nationality was lost. Would she pause in time? "It is already a province," writes the historian Velleius, who served at that time in the legions of Tiberius.

While this work was going forward in the North between the Rhine and Elbe, a great barbaric kingdom was rising in the South very near the Roman outposts. One of the Marcomanni, Maroboduus, who had been attracted to Rome like so many other Germans, had been much impressed with that skilful organization where all things were so admirably disposed to secure power. He had profited by the lesson; and, returning home with the authority of a man who had seen great things and can also accomplish them, he seized the command. Withdrawing his people from the banks of the Mein, where he had suffered a defeat, he established them in Bohemia, — a fortress, with its



THE YOUNG TIBERIUS IN MILITARY COSTUME
(MUSEUM OF TURIN).

rampart of mountains, in the heart of the Barbarian world. The Elbe, breaking its way through on the North, opened to him a gate in the direction of those countries where the legions had just established themselves; while from the tops of mountains descending to the waters of the Danube he could hear the war-cry of the

Pannonians and behold the icy peaks of the Alps. Against his own people, who had proclaimed him king, Maroboduus had surrounded himself with a guard and had built for his residence a strong citadel, Marobudun (Budweis?); and against the neighboring tribes he had, aided by numerous deserters from the Roman army, disciplined seventy thousand foot soldiers and four thousand cavalry, whom he exercised in continual engagements. Nearly all the Suevi had gathered around this chief who had so gloriously revived their ancient renown, and the Senones, and even the Lombards, recognized his supremacy.

Augustus was alarmed at this power, which Tiberius openly in the Senate declared more threatening to Rome than either Pyrrhus or Antiochus had been, and he resolved to crush it before it reached its height. A formidable army of six legions, collected upon the Danube, was held in readiness to cross the river and attack Bohemia from the south, while the lieutenant in command in Upper Germany, making his way through the Hercynian forest with an equal force, should attack from the west. Tiberius had already arrived at Carnuntum, the Roman depot in these regions, when a fearful insurrection broke out in his rear; it was the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, who, believing the legions already engaged with the Marcomanni, again rushed to arms. Rome escaped from this peril through the same error which invariably ruined her enemies: Maroboduus consented to negotiate, and Tiberius was at liberty to turn his strength against the rebels (6 A. D.).

Their plan had been, however, well constructed. All the Roman troops in camp in their country had gone to join Tiberius. Had they waited but a month longer, the war with Maroboduus would have left not a soldier between the Danube and the Alps; that is to say, Italy would have been open to them. But they were anxious to prevent the departure of the auxiliary corps which they had been compelled to furnish, which, in the Roman camp, would have been so many hostages for the good behavior of the nations whence they came. The first blows of the revolt were directed against the centres of Roman influence and power; the Pannonians fell upon Sirminium, the Dalmatians upon Salone. Eight hundred thousand men, the report said at Rome, were in arms,

and skilful leaders directed the movement. They formed three corps: the first was left in charge of the country; the second invaded Macedon; the third was directed against Nauportus, which defended the entrance into Italy by way of the Julian Alps. Augustus was filled with alarm at this peril. "In ten days," he said to the senators, "the enemy may be under the walls of Rome;" and his fears were not exaggerated, for Italy was destitute of soldiers. A scarcity of food supervened, which soon became actual famine, and the Emperor was forced to require all strangers to leave Rome. The Sardinians revolted, the Gaetuli refused obedience to Juba, the mountaineers of Isauria desolated the adjacent provinces, and brigandage sprang up everywhere.¹ The work of thirty years was shaken; the days of gloom had begun.

Prompt and energetic measures were taken. Levies were at once made, and the veterans and five legions that were out of the country were recalled. The knights and senators offered regular contributions for the whole duration of hostilities, and the rich, according to their wealth, furnished soldiers, one or more, from among their slaves, with six months' provisions. The shame of this desperate resource was concealed by giving them liberty together with their weapons. Tiberius employed the first year entirely in the defence of Italy; he established himself strongly at Siseia, where he barred the valley of the Save, and waited for the legions from Asia, accompanied by auxiliaries from the Thracian Rhoemetalces, to make an important diversion by way of Moesia. But the governor of this province failed in an attack upon the intrenchments of Mount Almus; and the Dacians, to whom this gave an opportunity, falling upon Moesia, he was obliged to return thither promptly. From the Danube to the very centre of Macedon, bands of insurgents had free range throughout the country.

Augustus organized new measures. In the spring of the year 7 A.D. he despatched to Tiberius the latter's nephew Germanicus with a second army. Fifteen legions — that is to say, the most considerable force that had been seen together since the civil wars — were united. But this country, intersected by rivers and by mountain

¹ Dion, lv. 28. He speaks (lvi. 43) of a Spanish brigand so much dreaded that Augustus offered a reward of two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas to any person delivering him up to justice.

chains, was admirably adapted for guerilla warfare, and a year went by without bringing results. The Romans had nothing to boast of except a success of Germanicus against the Dalmatians, and one victory which came near costing them five legions. Augustus, growing constantly more anxious, went, notwithstanding his seventy years, as far as Ariminum, in order to be nearer the theatre of events. Unfortunately, these nations, who so gallantly stood against two hundred thousand Romans, had not reckoned on an enemy even more formidable than the legions, — famine; the uncultivated fields produced no harvests, and a frightful mortality, caused by insufficient food, ravaged their ranks. Without having been conquered, they submitted,¹ not surrendering their weapons, but letting them fall from their hands. “Why have you caused this revolt?” Tiberius asked of Bato, the Dalmatian chief. “Why do you send wolves to guard your flocks, instead of dogs and shepherds?” was the bold reply; and the future Emperor remembered the answer.

In order to smother beneath ruins the last sparks of the fire, the country of Pannonia was subjected to a systematic devastation; and this savage execution was called “pacifying” the country. Many bands encamped in the mountains which separate Dalmatia from Pannonia, and remained there for a long time independent; or, in the language of Rome, brigands. The rest built up their cabins again, began to cultivate their fields, to refine their modes of living, and not being able to be free, strove to make themselves Roman;² and Tiberius returned in triumph to Rome.

Thus war was at last banished from the regions occupied by industrious populations; and there was heard no longer, even upon the frontiers, the roaring of that stormy sea which still continued to break against the outposts of the Empire. The Roman people, intoxicated with their grandeur, celebrated their own apotheosis while apotheosizing Rome, and received from their poets the promise of limitless power and endless duration, —

“His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
Imperium sine fine dedi.”³

¹ In Dalmatia resistance still continued at many points during the years 8 and 9. Germanicus was in command there, and Augustus sent Tiberius thither in the year 9 A. D. (Dion, lvi. 11–16.)

² Upon this war, see Dion, lv. 29, 33, and Velleius Paterculus, who took part in it, ii. 110–114.

³ Vergil, *Aeneid*, i. 278–279.

In the midst of this prosperity suddenly came the melancholy cry, presage of the future: Varus is dead!

The Romans had not forgotten in Germany their wonted prudence. The hereditary enmities of the different tribes had been turned to good account. All the dwellers along the coast had been received into alliance; upon the Rhine the Usipetes and the Tencteri were subjected; forty thousand Sicambri had been trans-



TRIUMPH OF TIBERIUS.¹

ported into Gaul, and the friendship of the Bructeri was believed to be secure. Fortified posts, resting upon the great fortress of Aliso, at the sources of the Lippe, kept watch over the country; and at Cologne, as at Lyons, an altar had been erected at which

¹ Museum of Vienna. A magnificent cameo, called *gemma Augustalis*, representing the triumph of Tiberius over the Pannonians. Their chief, Bato, who for seven years resisted Tiberius, is represented chained and crouching beneath the trophy. He wears trousers, like the inhabitants of Gallia Braecata; on the neck of another prisoner is seen the Gallic *torquis*.

the Germans were the priests and Rome was the divinity.¹ Here and there were formed some settlements to which the Barbarians brought their rude productions, and began to learn Roman manners and customs. Their chiefs, attracted into the service, went to shed their blood for Rome; then, returning to their tribes with golden collars and weapons bestowed as tokens of honor, the reward of their valor, described the marvellous sights that they had seen,—Italy, where cities were as numerous as cabins in their country; Rome, populous as a world; and those masters of the Empire who were worshipped as gods, because they had the power of gods. These accounts impressed the imagination of the Barbarians, and the divinity of Augustus appeared much more certain on the banks of the Weser than by the Tiber. “One day,” says Velleius Paterculus, “we were encamped on the bank of the Elbe, the Barbarians being on the opposite side. Suddenly one of their chiefs, an old man of majestic stature, unmoored a little boat, and advancing as far as the middle of the river, called out that he desired to see Caesar. His request being granted, he came across and landed; having surveyed Tiberius for a long time silently, ‘Our warriors are mad,’ he said; ‘from a distance they honor you as gods, but close at hand they fear to confide in your good faith. For my part, I am grateful to you, O Caesar, for the favor you have granted me. The gods, whom hitherto I knew only by their renown, I have to-day looked upon; and it is the happiest day of my life.’ He obtained permission to touch the general’s hand; then, re-entering his boat, he returned across the river, his eyes fixed upon Caesar until he had rejoined his companions on the opposite shore.”²

Time being left to do its work, the charm was sure to have its effect upon these simple people, impressed by grandeur of every kind. But the attempt was made to hasten their conversion; and violence recalled these children to the consciousness that they were men.

The position taken by Maroboduus and the revolt of the Pannonians had decided Augustus to hasten the work of transformation in Germany. Varus, formerly governor of Syria, had been sent across the Rhine with this mission. A stern man, and habituated to the

¹ Tac., *Ann.* i. 57: *Ara Ubiorum*.

² Vell. Paterc., ii. 109.

servile docility of the Eastern nations,¹ Varus could not understand that it might be necessary to proceed cautiously. In the utmost confidence he published his edict, and went among the astonished Barbarians to establish his tribunal, to call the cases before him, and to pass sentence in the name of laws which had been made upon the shore of the Tiber. The Germans had been accustomed themselves to revenge the injuries done them; Varus now reserved to himself the right of inflicting punishment. This interference in their affairs of men of the law, this talkative justice, these battles of words, always obscure to them and sometimes offensive, exasperated these men, whose judicial procedures were simpler and more summary, because they took for granted that the truth would be told under oath,—more solemn also, because both in action and symbols they made every case a drama, where the criminal, the victim, and the whole assembly of the people played each a part. Had a murder been committed, was a man found dead lying on the open ground, the custom was to fasten a rope about the neck of the corpse and bury it. Several days having been allowed to elapse, the body was exhumed, and all the men of the district, approaching one by one, took hold of the rope and dragged the corpse along the ground. To the guilty man this was a most trying ordeal, for it was believed that the murdered man would point out his slayer, the blood starting from the wounds at the instant the latter laid hands upon the rope. The Germanic law had no corporal penalties, nor did it give life for life. Only the priest, acting in the name of Heaven, could smite a German, and only cowards and traitors were punished with death; also sentence from the general assembly was required. In the case of murder, a fine was the penalty. If, however (the Salic law provided), the murderer were too poor, and his own kindred could not or would not aid him, twelve witnesses swore in his behalf that neither upon the ground nor under it had he more property than what he offered. Upon this he returned into his house, took up dust from the four corners, and standing on the threshold,

¹ Strabo, vii. 290; Tac., *Ann.* ii. 45. Some disturbances having broken out in Judaea, he had caused to be crucified along the highways two thousand prisoners (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xvii. 10).

threw with his left hand the dust upon his nearest relatives. Having done this, in his shirt, without shoes or girdle, and carrying a staff in his hand, he strode over the threshold of his cabin and over the hedge surrounding his field. He was *vargus*, an outlaw, from that day forth; the interminable forest,

the boundless ocean, was his domain.¹

But this outlaw was now arrested by Roman lictors, scourged with rods, smitten with the axe,—him whom gods alone could smite! For smaller offences there were endless pleadings. In vain the Barbarian offered to decide it all by an oath; Varus would have investigations, witnesses, discussion of facts and points of law. Need we wonder that at the contact of these two social systems the Roman genius and the Barbarian genius felt themselves hostile to each other forever? “Hiss now, viper!” cried the victorious German to the captive lawyers after having cut out their tongues



GERMAN WOMAN, CALLED THUSNELDA.²

and sewed up their mouths. Hatred so ferocious as this shows us where the revolt had its origin.

The German nobles put themselves at the head of the movement, and a young chief of the Cherusci, Arminius,³ son of Sigimer,

¹ Upon this procedure see Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*; but I fear it is of comparatively recent epoch.

² Museum of Florence (L. Stracke, *op. cit.* p. 51).

³ [The favorite German identification of this name with Hermann is very doubtful. — Ed.]

was the soul of the conspiracy. Given up to the Romans as a hostage, he had found favor in their sight, and had received the gold ring and the command of a troop of German auxiliaries. But he was the hereditary enemy of another chief of the Cherusci, Segestes; and he satisfied at the same time his hatred of the latter and his passion for the beautiful Thusnelda, his rival's daughter, by carrying off the girl. It was a mortal offence; and the father, a friend of the Romans, would be sure, sooner or later, to obtain his revenge from Varus. Arminius, thus personally endangered, felt more acutely the wrongs done to his countrymen. He called together the principal chiefs of the Catti, Cherusci, Marsi, and Bructeri, and in secret meetings arranged with them the plan of a general insurrection. In vain did Segestes warn Varus. "Have us arrested," he said; "and without us the people will dare to attempt nothing. Later you will learn the truth."

GERMAN, CALLED ARMINIUS.¹

Varus still was confident. Meanwhile news was brought him that a remote tribe had revolted. It was a snare to draw him out of his camp and far away from his fortified positions. The chiefs who were about him offered to guide his march. They led him astray; and then, making their escape under the pretext of going to seek aid for him among their own people, they placed themselves at the head of the approaching bands. A son of Segestes, although a priest of Rome and of Augustus at the altar of the Ubii, joined his brothers in the revolt.

Embarrassed with an enormous quantity of baggage, the three

¹ Museum of the Capitol (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, p. 49).

legions were advancing with difficulty in a long line through dense, damp forests, without taking any precautions and as if in the midst of peace. Suddenly some bands of Barbarians appeared; then their number increased, till the forest seemed alive with them, and the army was entirely surrounded. Varus, however, was able to gain the open country, where he encamped, and the following day he destroyed his baggage and made a desperate effort to reach the fortress of Aliso. His road lay through the valleys of the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, between the headwaters of the Ems and the Lippe, and across the marshy lands which lay below. Making their way through these difficult paths, harassed incessantly by the Germans all along the line, the confused crowd of infantry and cavalry struggled on, leaving behind them a blood-stained track; and when they encamped on the second night, the space needed for their intrenchments was but half of what it had been the night before. In the morning heavy rain added to their distress and slackened their march, while their enemies were more numerous and savage than ever, knowing well that the day's events would either deliver the Roman eagles into their power, or would place what remained of the legions in safety within the fortress. Emerging from the dense woods into the open country, the Romans found themselves in a marshy plain where Arminius had gathered the bulk of his forces. Here the final struggle took place. A few horsemen escaped to Aliso, and all the rest perished. Varus, to avoid falling alive into the enemy's hands, fell upon his sword. The tribunes and centurions were hung to trees, the Roman lawyers who accompanied Varus put to death with frightful tortures; and if a few prisoners were spared, it was but to add to the disgrace of Rome. A man of the Catti or the Cherusei could now show among his slaves some Roman knight or even candidate for senatorial honors (September, 9 A. D.).¹

Five days after the definitive submission of the Pannonians and

¹ Seneca, *Epist.* 47: *Multos splendidissime natos, senatorium per militiam auspicantes gradum.* (Tac., *Ann.* xii. 27.) Forty years later there were still Roman prisoners among the Catti. (Cf. Dion, lvi. 19-21; Vell. Patere., ii. 118-119; Tac., *Ann.* i. 55, 57, 61.) The three legions destroyed were the 17th, 18th, and 19th; and these numbers, considered henceforth inauspicious, were never used again in the Roman army. Much has been written on the subject of the battlefield. By a commemorative monument erected in 1867 on one of the heights of the Tentoburger Wald, the Germans have located the last act of this tragedy in the neighborhood of Detmold.

Dalmatians, news of the disaster of Varus was received at Rome. The Germanic nationality rose victorious and menacing just as the last nationality which could offer resistance in the interior of the Empire had given away; it arose to say, on the banks of the Rhine, what the Parthians on the banks of the Euphrates already had said to that great power which for three centuries had been advancing steadily: "Thou shalt go no farther."

Arminius, meanwhile, was following up his victory. He captured all the forts that Rome had built, even Aliso; and from the Rhine to the Weser the whole of Germany became free once more. He had caused the head of Varus to be cut off, and had sent that bloody trophy to Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni. Let now this great chief, lately the terror of Rome, unite with the confederation of the Northern tribes; let him, repairing the mistake of three years before at the time of the Pannonian revolt, now cross the Danube, while the liberator of Germany attacks Gaul, and the Empire will have good reason to tremble. Augustus, who already seemed to hear them advancing through the passes of the Alps, cried in terror: "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" for soldiers were lacking. Alarmed by this war, exhausted by recent levies, the people refused to be enrolled. It was in vain that Augustus branded with infamy and inflicted confiscation of property upon one man in every five under thirty-five years of age, and one in every ten of those older; nothing but the threat of execution could drag these degenerate Romans into camp.²

GERMANICUS.¹

Fortunately for Rome, Maroboduus was jealous of the fame of Arminius; and instead of responding to his patriotic appeal, he sent the head of Varus to the Emperor. Secure upon this side, Tiberius was able to hasten to the Gallic frontier, fortify all the posts, re-establish discipline, expel luxury and indolence from the camps, and even risk the eagles again across the Rhine. Germanicus, as his successor, remained at the head of the eight legions protecting the left bank of the river. Content with their victory, the enemy never

¹ The legend recalls that this was the adopted son of Tiberius (Tiberii AVGusti Filius) and grandson of the divine Augustus (DIVI AVG Nepos). Bronze coin.

² Dion, lvi. 23.

passed from resistance to attack. The Empire was saved, but the glory of a long reign had been tarnished, for fifty years were to pass before the generals of Rome should bring back into the temple of Mars the Avenger the last of the three eagles of Varus ; and it was amid the sounds of reviving war that the man who had reduced the art of reigning to an art of introducing peace and happiness throughout the world descended to the tomb.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.

Cn. Octavius, praetor in 61, marries

Atia, daughter of Atius Balbus and of Julia, sister of C. JULIUS CAESAR.

<p>1. Octavia marries 1. C. Marcellus.</p>		<p>2. C. JULIUS CAESAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS. 1. Clodia. 2. Scribonia. 3. Livia, divorced wife of Tib. Claudius Nero.</p>	
<p>1. Antonia <i>major</i>, who marries Dom. Ahenob. Messalina</p>	<p>2. Antonia <i>minor</i>, who marries Drusus, father of Germanicus.</p>	<p>Julia marries 1. Marcellus. 2. M. Vips. Agrippa. 3. TIBERIUS, son of Livia. Children of Julia and Agrippa.</p>	
	<p>3. Domitius, who marries Agrippina. Cl. Nero.</p>	<p>Tiberius marries Vipsania. Drusus marries Livilla. Julia, Tiberius.</p>	
<p>1. C. Caesar marries Livia, sister of Germanicus.</p>		<p>1. Livilla, wife of Drusus. 2. Germanicus marries Agrippina. 3. CLAUDIUS marries Messalina.</p>	
<p>1. M. Aemilius Lepidus marries Drusilla, dau. of Germanicus.</p>		<p>Octavia. Britannicus.</p>	
<p>1. Ap. Jun. Silanus. 2. Drusus, son of Tiberius. Children of Drusus and Lepida.</p>		<p>5. Agrippa Postumus.</p>	
<p>1. L. Silanus. 2. M. Silanus.</p>		<p>4. Agrippina marries Germanicus, grandson of the Emp. Livia.</p>	
<p>1. Nero marries Julia, daughter of Drusus <i>junior</i>, the son of Tiberius.</p>		<p>2. Aem. Lepida marries 1. Ap. Jun. Silanus. 2. Drusus, son of Tiberius. Children of Drusus and Lepida.</p>	
<p>1. L. Silanus. 2. M. Silanus.</p>		<p>3. Julia marries L. Aemilius Paulus.</p>	
<p>2. Drusus marries Aem. Lepida.</p>		<p>3. Julia marries L. Aemilius Paulus.</p>	
<p>3. CALPURNIA, Emperor.</p>		<p>4. Agrippina marries Germanicus, grandson of the Emp. Livia.</p>	
<p>6. Livia or Livilla marries 1. M. Vinicius. 2. Quintilius Varus (?)</p>		<p>5. Drusilla marries 1. L. Cassius. 2. M. Aem. Lepidus. NERO, Emperor.</p>	

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE LAST YEARS OF AUGUSTUS, AND THE SUCCESSION TO THE EMPIRE.

I.—THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

LIKE Louis XIV., Augustus ended his reign in mourning and solitude: it is the fate of lives that have been too long. He had seen die, one after another, all those who were bound

to him by ties of blood, friendship, or military fame, all who were the support or the honor of his administration,—Marcellus, his nephew and son-in-law (23 B. c.), his sister Octavia (11), Vergil (19), Agrippa (12), Drusus (9), Maecenas, and Horace (8). Eight years before the commencement of the Christian era there remained to him only the children born of his daughter Julia's



MARCELLUS.¹

marriage with Agrippa, and the children of Drusus and Tiberius.

The Emperor was much attached to his grandsons. The care that he bestowed upon their education and the early honors

¹ Bust found at Otricoli with an Augustus and a Livia (Vatican, Gallery of the Candelabra, No. 208).

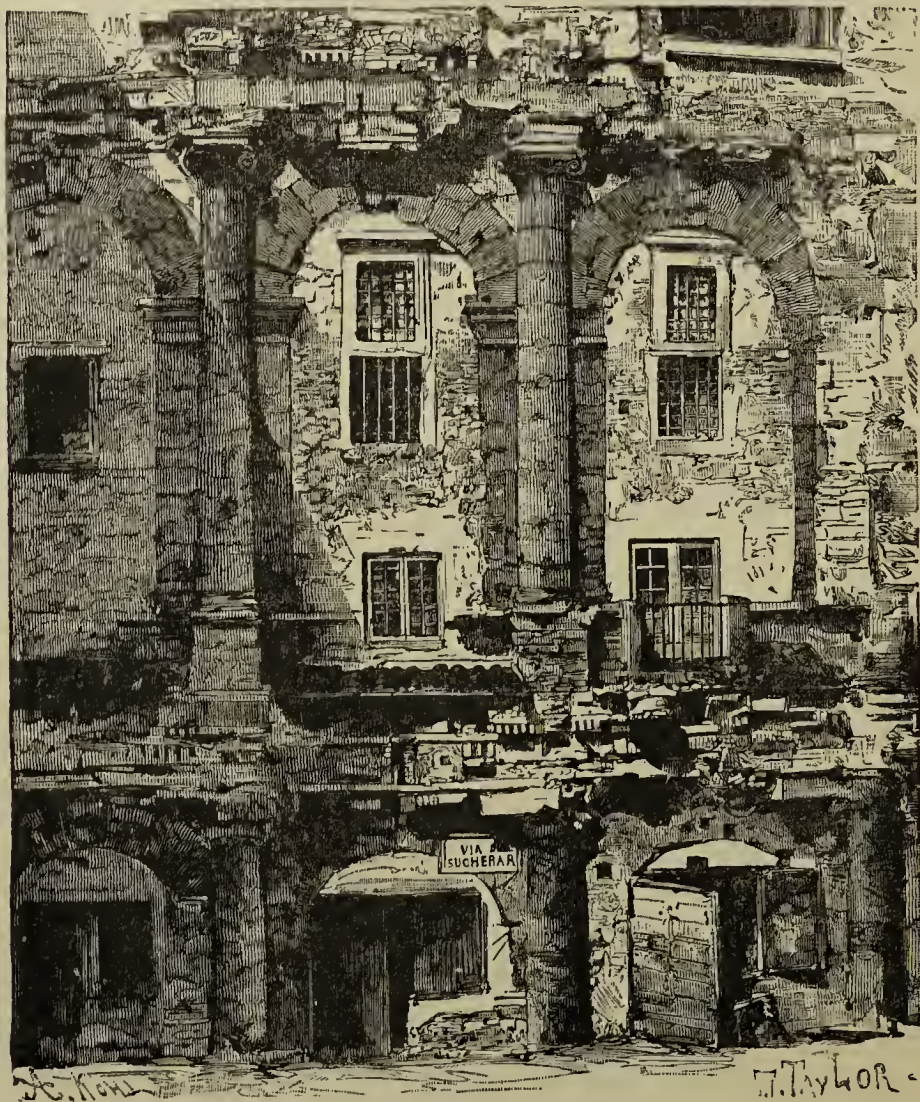
lavished upon them revealed his intentions concerning them. In his own mind he regarded them as his successors; but this very serious question had not yet been openly discussed. The imperial government having been founded, however, by the concentration of all authority in the hands of one man, it was essential to designate in advance who should inherit it; for so vast an Empire, which had laws but not institutions, inhabitants but not citizens, municipal customs and no patriotism outside of the city, could not be left to fall periodically into the uncertainties and tumults of an election. Augustus perfectly comprehended this necessity; but the assumed disinterestedness of his whole life prevented him from openly decreeing hereditary succession, and his mind was neither liberal enough nor strong enough to find out and establish any other system. Faithful to his temporizing habits, he waited for events, that he might regulate his conduct by them rather than dominate them. No one was willing to look forward to minorities or to the extinction of the imperial family, nor even so far as to the illness or death of the first Emperor. Everything was left to chance, to the Fortune of the Day, — that great divinity of the Romans and of their chief. This was an error which for three centuries weighed upon the Empire; and we may hold Augustus responsible for it, since it is certain that in the second half of his reign, he was sure enough of the docility of the Romans to be able to lay aside all hypocritical precautions.

That which he dared not establish as a matter of law, he strove, however, to found as a matter of fact. Like Julius Caesar, he had no sons; but he adopted his nephew and son-in-law Marcellus, and on the death of this young prince, gave his widow, Julia, in marriage to Agrippa. To marry this old soldier to his daughter was almost to associate him with himself in the imperial power and a second time designate a successor. This idea Augustus confirmed in the minds of the Romans by sharing the tribunitian power¹ with Agrippa in the year 19 B. C., and later by adopting Caius and Lucius Caesar, the two sons of this marriage.

Agrippa's death having brought the matter once more in

¹ *Agrippam socium ejus potestatis . . . delegit, ne successor in incerto foret* (Tac., Ann. iii. 56). Caius was born in the year 29 B. C., and Lucius in 17.

question, Augustus decided to make a great position both in the government and in his own family for Livia's son Tiberius. The latter was compelled to marry the widow of Agrippa and of Marcellus, divorcing his wife Vipsania, whom he loved, who had already borne him one son, and was at the time pregnant.



REMAINS OF THE THEATRE OF MARCELLUS.¹

The Emperor trusted that the ambition of Tiberius, thus gratified, would leave time for the sons of Julia to grow older and approach gradually to the power he destined for them. As soon as they were past their childhood he began to employ for them the same system which had been so serviceable to himself, — that of appointing

¹ Julius Caesar commenced this edifice, to which Augustus gave his nephew's name (Dion, liii. 30). Near this theatre is Octavia's portico.

them to republican magistracies. At the age of fourteen Lucius was augur, and Caius, three years older, held a priesthood, the right of entrance into the Senate, of wearing the laticlave at games and public festivals, and of sitting among the senators;¹ both were also designated as consuls, to enter upon office on attaining their twentieth year. Meantime they took the title of *principes juventutis*. Neither in the Senate nor in the city did any man make objection to all this; more would have been accepted if Augustus had dared to do more. Only in the imperial family was there dissatisfaction. In spite of his deep dissimulation, Tiberius could not see without jealousy that less was granted to his long services than to the birth of these two boys, — who, moreover, showed no consideration for him. Spoiled by premature honors and adulation, they lived in debauchery, with the presumption of their age and the arrogance of their fortune; and they made no attempt to conceal their discontent when Augustus, in the hope of putting some restraint upon their turbulent ambition, gave to Tiberius the tribunitian power for five years. It did not require much clear-sightedness for a man already inclined to have more than enough of that quality, to foresee in these two youths bitter and implacable enemies. The misconduct of his wife Julia weighed heavily upon the pride of him who was the head of the noblest of Roman houses. He could not repudiate the Emperor's daughter, and he saw himself deprived of the hoped-for recompense of this hated marriage. With the habitual decision and tenacity of the Claudii, he resolved to quit the court, Rome, Italy even, and go to live in retirement in the East. This withdrawal was a kind of public indictment of the paternal weaknesses of Augustus. The Emperor so understood it; he ordered Livia to prevent her son's departure, and himself went so far as to complain in the Senate of being deserted. All was in vain; rather than yield, Tiberius declared that he would starve himself to death; and, in fact, remained some days without food. When finally Augustus had authorized his journey, he departed quietly, making no complaint and offering no explanation, and took up his residence in Rhodes. Such had been

¹ See above, p. 106.

Agrippa's course at the time of the elevation of Marcellus. Tiberius believed himself to be of no less consequence than Agrippa, and looked for a similar recall, and to find himself raised to a perfect equality with the young Caesars. Augustus, keenly wounded, took him at his word concerning his disgust for public life, feigned to forget him at Rhodes, and left him there seven years. By this voluntary exile the Emperor found himself relieved from the constraint which had been imposed upon his natural affections by the presence of this son of Livia,—a man in the maturity of his age and in all the renown of his public services. Now, however, he was smitten through all his own family, as if the genius



JULIA, DAUGHTER OF AUGUSTUS.¹

of evil hovered over his house, casting disgrace and death upon it. First of all, Julia abandoned herself to the most scandalous excesses. For a long time this was carefully concealed from the Emperor, that impunity might drag his daughter on into irremediable misconduct; and when finally everything was made known to him, the father could not draw back, the reformer of morals was compelled to punish. Julia was exiled to the island of Pandataria; and Augustus, punishing her even in death, forbade that her remains should ever be laid in the imperial tomb. Julia's mother, the divorced Scribonia, voluntarily shared her daughter's exile,—perhaps as a protest against an unnecessary exposure and too severe a penalty (2 B. C.).²

Livia may have hoped that the children of Julia would share in their mother's disgrace. This expectation, if it were entertained

¹ Julia, wearing a wreath of wheat-ears and poppies, holding in her right hand a poppy. Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, 201.

² Many noble personages, her accomplices, were punished with her (Suet., *Octav.* 64, 65; Dion, iv. 10 and 13).

by her, proved fallacious. The Emperor, anxious to show to the people and the legions the heir of his power, invested Caius Caesar with proconsular authority over all the East, and sent him with a great retinue into those provinces where brilliant reputations were so quickly obtained. Surrounded by a court composed of subject kings, on the first day of January in the year 1 A. D. the young prince at Antioch took possession of the consulship. Not long after, disturbances in Armenia furnished him the occasion for some easy successes and the honor of disposing of a crown, and he gave that kingdom to the Median Ariobarzanes. Meanwhile Tiberius perceived that he had taken the wrong road; he was forgotten at Rome,

and in Asia he was menaced. One of the flatterers of Caius had proposed to the young prince during a banquet to set out forthwith for Rhodes and bring him back the exile's head. A residence in Rhodes was becoming more dangerous than one upon the Palatine, where at least his mother could protect him. Humble submission to Caius and the Emperor brought him leave to return to Rome, on condition

that he should in no way occupy himself with public affairs. The course of events, however, quickly brought him again into power.

During an expedition in Armenia, Caius, while listening to the governor of the city of Artagira, who pretended to have



GERMANICUS, SON OF DRUSUS.¹

¹ Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 9.

important secrets to reveal to the young prince, was stabbed by the traitor; the wound did not seem mortal, but the weapon was doubtless poisoned.¹ An incurable melancholy seized upon Caius; he lingered for a time, and finally died in Cilicia (4 A. D.). Eighteen months earlier, his brother Lucius, sent by Augustus to the Spanish legions, had died at Marseilles (20th April, 2 A. D.). This double calamity, caused probably by the precocious excesses of the two young men, seemed unnatural, although no proof of crime could be found; and, as always happens, many voices accused those to whom it gave the Empire.²

One son of Julia yet survived, Agrippa Postumus. But he was only sixteen years of age; and Augustus, who felt the burden of years weighing heavily upon him, considered it a duty to sacrifice to the state his personal preferences. He adopted at the same time Agrippa and Tiberius. "I do it," he said, perhaps with secret bitterness, "for the good of the state."³ And he obliged Tiberius, although the latter had children of his own, to adopt his nephew Germanicus, upon whom Augustus bestowed the affection he had formerly felt for Drusus, the young man's father (4 A. D.).



AGRIPPA
POSTUMUS.

II. — TIBERIUS ASSOCIATED IN THE GOVERNMENT (4 A. D.); DEATH OF AUGUSTUS (14).

THE succession, which had already rested upon so many heads, was therefore again fixed; for, notwithstanding the official falsehood of senatorial and popular rights and the decennial extension of the imperial powers, the idea of hereditary succession was accepted in advance. A conspiracy, however, came very near

¹ Orelli-Henzen, No. 5,370: . . . *in Armenia percussus*. Dion represents Caius as of feeble intellect and poor health: . . . μηδὲ ὑγιεινὸς ἦν ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξελέλυτο, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύνθη (lv. 12). Velleius Paterculus (ii. 102) says the same.

² Tacitus contents himself with saying (and, as usual, slips in a suspicion): *Mors fato prope, vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit* (Ann. i. 3). It is strange he did not add that Sejanus was one of the intimates of Caius Caesar (Ann. iv. 1). Lucius was patron of Pisa, Caius of Nîmes (Wilmanus, 883). It was in honor of Caius that the little temple called the *Maison Carrée* was erected at Nîmes.

³ Suet., *Tiber.* 23.

overthrowing the Emperor and the inheritance. Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, conceived the design of assassinating Augustus during a sacrifice. The plot being discovered, the Emperor would have punished; but Livia counselled the placing of clemency as a bar between himself and further attempts of the same nature. The Emperor sent for Cinna, revealed to him his plans, named to him his accomplices, and overwhelmed him with an unexpected pardon; and a year after this he even gave him the consulship.¹

The difficulties concerning the succession to the Empire were not ended so long as there remained two claimants. Agrippa had the same rights with Tiberius; but the former was the heir of his mother's vices, and he shared her fate. Augustus cancelled his adoption, and exiled him at first to Sorrento, and later to the Island of Planasia. No man pitied him, for in that refined court the grossness of his mind and manners had, far more than his debauchery, excited the public disgust (7 A.D.).² Augustus had not yet seen the last of his domestic misfortunes. A year later the younger Julia, accused of the same crimes with her mother, was, like her, confined upon an island in the Adriatic, where she remained twenty years until her death (28 A.D.), and where her ashes remained, exiled from the tomb of the Caesars. Augustus, with a cruel abuse of his paternal authority, forbade her infant child to be reared; and the old Emperor, the pitiless judge of his own family, found himself in his desolated house alone with Livia and her son.

About this time Ovid, the favorite poet of the fashionable society of his time, received an order to quit Italy, and even the Empire, being exiled to its extreme frontier, near the mouths of the Danube, in the pestilential regions of the Dobrutchá. We shall add no conjecture to the many which have been already made concerning this mysterious affair,³ and shall only call

¹ Seneca, *De Clem.* i. 9, 10, and Cornelle. There was, however, one more conspiracy after this, that of Paulus and Rufus. Their fate is not known.

² *Rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolidè ferocem* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 3). Vell. Patere. (ii. 112) and Suet. (*Octav.* 65) say the same.

³ The exile of Ovid was decreed in the same year with that of Julia *minor* (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 71; 8 A.D.), whence we may conclude, not without some reason, that the poet shared in the misconduct of her of whom he sang, it is believed, under the name of Corinna. The Emperor, who never pardoned his granddaughter, also never forgave him who may have been her accomplice.

attention to the fact that a Roman citizen, even of equestrian rank, could at the mere will of the ruler, without public judgment or decree of the Senate, be deprived of his liberty, and in reality of his fortune and his rights (although the *relegatio* implied neither the confiscation of the one nor the suppression of the others), and that no one, not even the sufferer, protested in the name of the laws. Ovid died at Tomi (Kustendjé), surviving Augustus only three years.¹

The services which Tiberius rendered to the Empire in the terrible years when Maroboduus was threatening, Pannonia in revolt, and thirty thousand Roman soldiers were slaughtered in Germany, obliterated the previous reluctance of the Emperor; and in the year 13 Augustus, feeling his end approaching, took Tiberius as his colleague. In virtue of a *senatus-consultum* and a law of the centuries, he shared with his newly-appointed colleague the tribunitian power, the proconsular authority in the provinces, the command of the armies, and the right of making the census. In closing the *lustrum*, he would have Tiberius offer the customary prayers for the prosperity of the Empire. "It is not fitting," he said, "that I should offer prayers whose fulfilment I shall not see." It was not that any evil menaced him; he had always one of those delicate constitutions with which men live to the age of Nestor. But his physical system was exhausted, and his life was drawing to a close. Tiberius departing about this time for Illyria, the Emperor decided to accompany him as far as Beneventum to escape from the fatigues of Rome and of public affairs. He went by land to Astura, where he embarked, and slowly sailed along the beautiful shores of Campania and the adjacent islands,

¹ Ovid himself (*Trist.* V. xi. 15, 18) gives the exact import of the *relegatio* by saying of the Emperor, —

*Nec vitam, nec opes, nec jus mihi civis ademit . . .
Nil nisi me patriis jussit abesse focis.*

In respect to the *deportatio*, which, under the Empire, took the place of the *interdictio aquae et ignis*, it was thus regulated by Augustus: "He forbade those to whom fire and water had been interdicted to reside upon the continent or upon any island within four hundred stadia of the mainland, with the exception of Cos, Rhodes, Lesbos, and Sardinia. They could not change their domicile, could not own more than one transport vessel of a thousand amphorae burden, nor more than two vessels propelled by oars; nor could have more than twenty slaves or freedmen; nor could retain more than a fortune of a hundred and eighty-five thousand drachmas" (*Dion.* lvi. 27). The person thus exiled, being civilly dead, could neither inherit property nor make a will.



BRIDGE AT SORRENTO.

happy in his idleness, making epigrams and bad verses, amusing himself with watching the sports of the sailors or the athletic contests of the Greek lads of Capri, rewarding them by a banquet where they were permitted to pillage the desert. From Beneventum he returned to Nola. Here he was taken ill; and believing the end near, he sent for Tiberius to return, and passed a long time in conversation with him. "The day he died he asked frequently whether his condition was

SPORTS AND GAMES OF CHILDREN.¹

causing any tumult in Rome; and having called for a mirror, he had his hair arranged. When some of his friends entered the room he said to them: 'Do you think that I have acted my part well on the stage of life?' and he added in Greek the phrase with which theatrical performances were usually ended: 'If you are satisfied, give me your applause. . . .' A short time after, he expired in the arms of Livia (19th August, 14 A.D.).²

AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA.³

It has been common to believe, with the author of this often-quoted passage, that the Emperor in his last moments plucked off a mask which he had worn for four and forty years. When the drama has lasted so long, we no longer have an actor representing a part; the *rôle* has become the man's life, and he is very nearly that which he has so long striven to appear. Augustus was not the

¹ Ancient gymnasium, from an engraved stone (La Chausse, ii. pl. 133, and Agostini, *Gem. Ant.*, part ii. pl. 21).

² The reader will contrast this account of Suetonius with the picture drawn by the sombre imagination of Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 4) and the ridiculous accusation made against Livia of having hastened the death of this old man of seventy-six. We may also doubt the story of Augustus's visit to Agrippa Postumus, whom the public detested: *trucem . . . non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 4). To what purpose would it have been, since it could have no result, and since at that very time the Emperor was giving Tiberius every mark of esteem?

³ Busts of Augustus and Livia, from a gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,074.

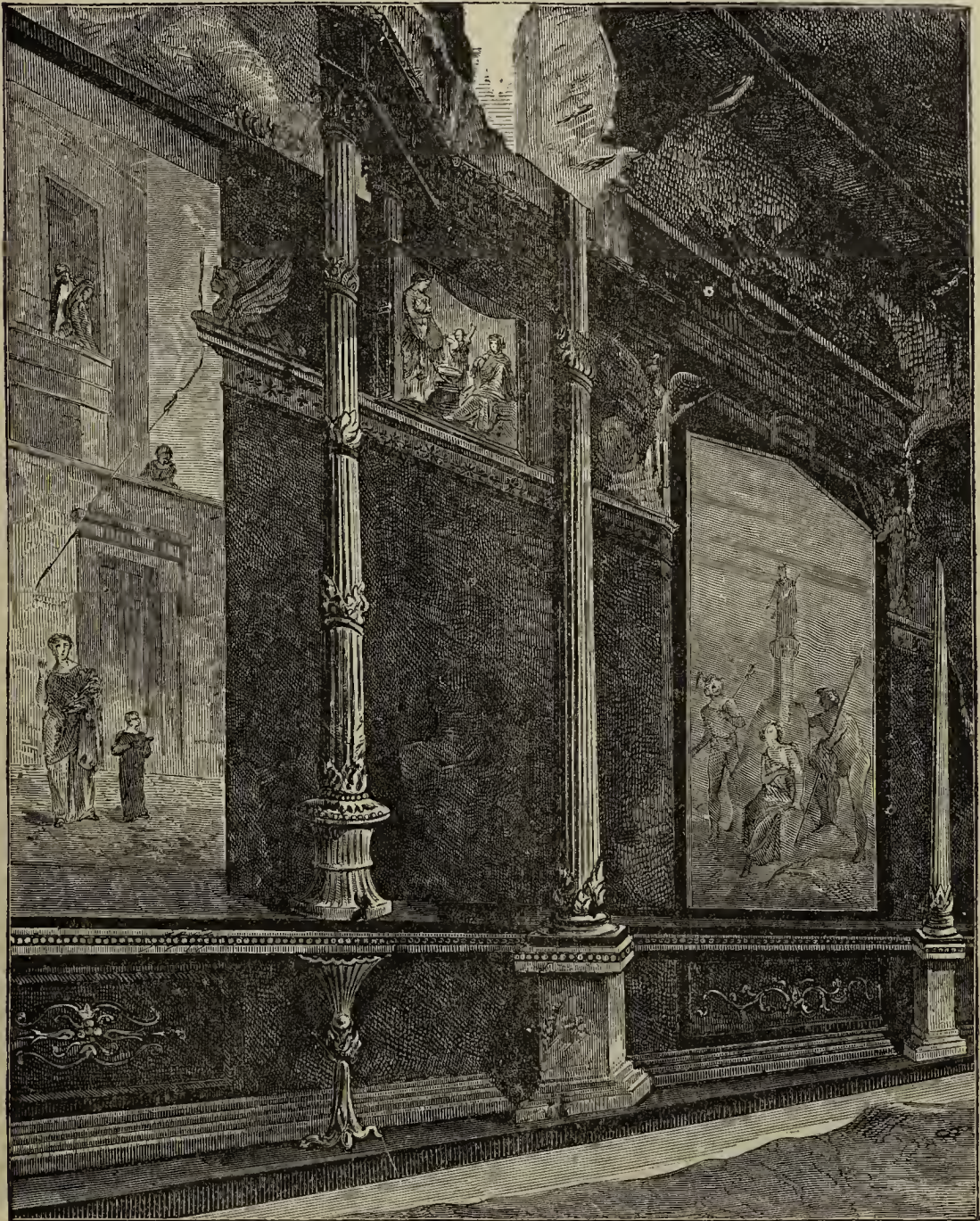
jocular sceptic, but the grave statesman, conversing in his last hours with his successor, anxious that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed at the news of his illness; he died as he had lived, with the thought uppermost in his mind of that public order which was so necessary to the Roman world.



PALATINE. REMAINS OF THE HOUSE OF AUGUSTUS.

The Emperor lacked only thirty-five days of completing his seventy-sixth year. His body was brought from Nola to Bovillae by decuriones of the municipia and the colonies. They made the journey by night only, on account of the extreme heat; by day

the corpse was deposited in temples or public buildings. At Bovillae the knights came out to receive it, and bore it to the vestibule of the imperial house upon the Palatine, where for seven



ROOM IN THE HOUSE OF LIVIA.¹

days the body lay in state upon a bed of gold and ivory. The corpse itself was concealed under draperies of purple and gold;

¹ This room is decorated with frescos, of which a copy may be seen in the *École des Beaux-Arts* at Paris.

but a waxen figure, made in exact likeness to Augustus, was seen resting upon the outside of the bed, and appeared like one sleeping. A handsome young slave gently waved a fan of peacock's feathers above the face, guarding the eternal repose. On the left, the senators in turn, clad in mourning garments, sat beside the



DRUSUS, SON OF TIBERIUS.¹

dead; on the right were Roman matrons in long white stoles, without ornament of any kind. In front of the bed was placed a golden statue of Victory, as if that goddess had been one of the Julian family.

Meantime Tiberius convoked the Senate to deliberate upon the honors to be paid to the late Emperor. The Vestals, who had had charge of the will of Augustus, now brought it into the Senate-house; it had been prepared sixteen months before. He constituted Tiberius and Livia his heirs; failing them, Drusus, son of Tiberius, should inherit one third, and Germanicus and his three sons the rest. A singular point was the adoption of Livia, who was to take the name

Julia Augusta. He bequeathed to the Roman people—that is to say, to the public treasury—forty million sesterces; to the populace of the city, three million five hundred thousand; to each praetorian, a thousand sesterces; to each soldier of the urban cohorts, five hundred; and to each legionary, three hundred. Four

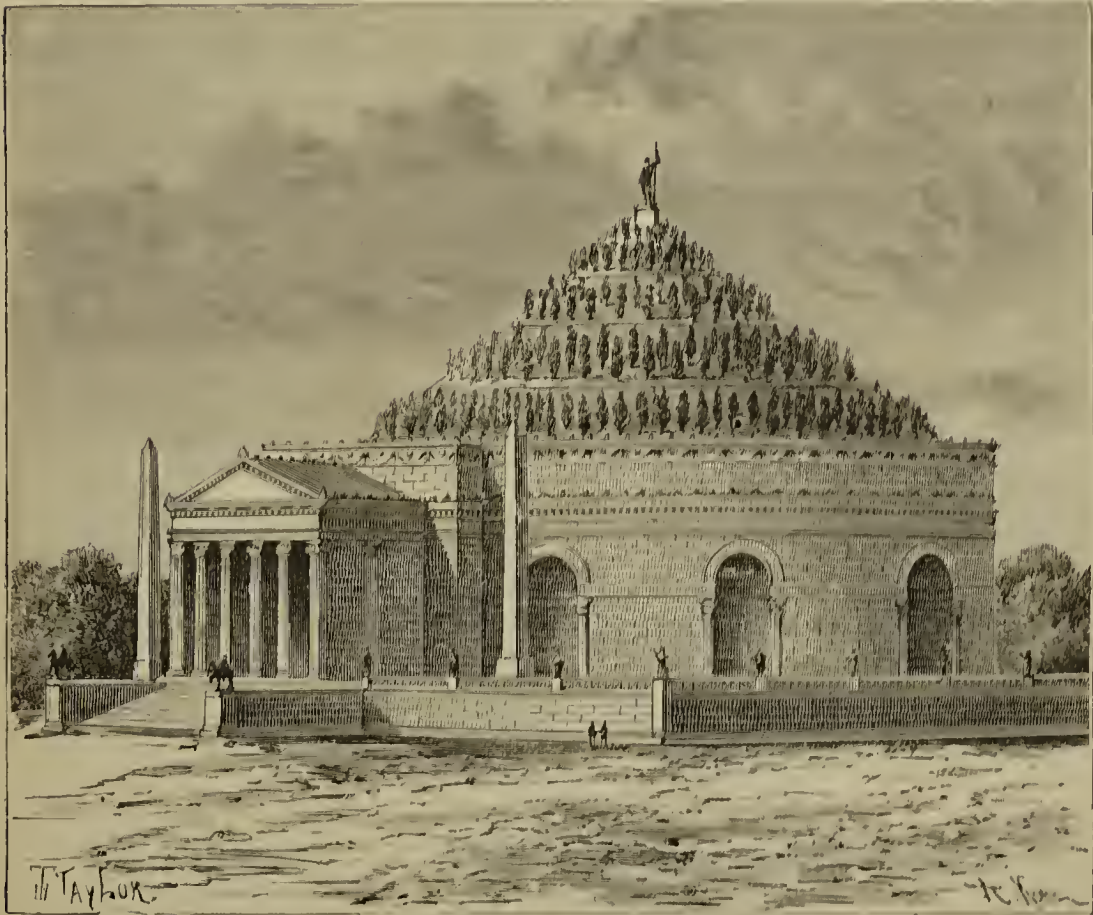
¹ Bronze statue in the Museum at Naples (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vi. pl. 33, and *Museo Borbon.* iii. pl. 38).



MASSUERO, G., PINXIT. Roma, 1881

0 25 50 75 100
WALL DECORATION FROM A ROOM IN LIVIA'S PALACE

codicils that he had prepared were read by Drusus:¹ one regulated the ceremonies for his funeral; the second contained various counsels to Tiberius and to the state,—not to extend the frontiers, to restrict enfranchisements, to be sparing in the bestowal of citizenship, and not to accumulate all the power in the hands of one man. This recommendation on his part seems strange, but

TOMB OF AUGUSTUS.²

it corresponded with the idea he had conceived of an imperial republic which should leave counsel and a share of action to the chief citizens united in the Senate. The third codicil, which has been lost, was a statement of the forces and resources of the Empire; the fourth, a summary of his life, intended to be engraved on tables of bronze on the front of his mausoleum. This latter we have almost entire in the Monument of Ancyra; and we can read there, if not the honest thought of the founder of the

¹ Dion (lvi. 33); Suet. (192); and Tac. (*Ann.* i. 11) mention only three.

² Restoration by Reynaud, *Traité d'architecture*, part ii. pl. 47.

Empire, at least, what he believed to be his titles to contemporary gratitude.

On the day of the funeral the magistrates took the bier upon their shoulders and carried it through the Forum to the Campus Martius, where the pyre had been made ready. Behind



MERCURY-AUGUSTUS.¹

the bier were borne three statues of Augustus clad in the triumphal toga, and a great number of figures representing his ancestors and other distinguished Romans, from Romulus to Pompey, as it were coming out of their tombs to attend him; and lastly, figures representing the conquered nations, attired in their respective costumes. Then followed the senators and the knights, and then the matrons; and at intervals in the procession there were choirs of boys and girls of the noblest families chanting funeral hymns. After these came the soldiers of the praetorian and urban guards,

and, finally, the vast crowd of the populace. In the Forum two discourses in honor of the dead were pronounced,—one by Tiberius, before the temple of Julius Caesar, the other by Drusus from the rostra.

¹ Bronze statuette in the Museum of Rennes; a specimen of Gallo-Roman art of the first century of our era. The winged and laurelled head of the young god reproduces the features of Augustus and leaves no doubt as to the intention. The eyes were incrustated with silver. (Cf. *Gazette archéol.* 1875, pl. 36, and p. 135.) See p. 290.

The procession entered the Campus Martius, passing through the Porta Triumphalis, and arrived at the funeral pile, erected in the form of a square temple four stories in height, the stories retreating as they ascended. It was decorated with pictures and statues, and covered with the richest tapestries. The bier having been placed in the second story and surrounded with flowers, the priests, magistrates, and senators slowly marched round the building; they were followed by the knights, the soldiers, and the people, moving more rapidly, the former casting upon the corpse their military rewards, and the latter incense and perfumes. Finally, at a signal given by Tiberius, the centurions designated for the duty flung lighted torches into the funeral pile. As the flames reached the top, an eagle,



TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS.

flying out from the little temple which formed the summit of the structure, directed his flight upward, as though bearing to the skies the spirit of the dead.

The pyre continued to burn for five days; at least it was not until the evening of the fifth day that Livia, accompanied by the chief men of the equestrian order, gathered up the bones of the Emperor. Having washed and perfumed them, she placed them in a casket of Oriental alabaster and bore them to the mausoleum of Augustus, where they were

LIVIA AS CYBELE.¹

placed in the sepulchral chamber destined for that purpose by the Emperor himself at the top of his colossal tomb.

¹ Livia, her head veiled and turret-crowned, holds the bust of Augustus in her hand. An engraved stone published in the *Trésor de numismatique*, pl. 6, No. 3.

During his lifetime the late Emperor had authorized the provinces to decree his apotheosis. In Rome he had not ventured at first to do more than lay claim to the title of Augustus; but later he had allowed the local magistrates to place his image among the Lares, and Horace to represent him as the son of Maia clad in mortal form for the purpose of avenging the murder of Caesar.¹ The poet was not very much in earnest; but there were those who believed



LIVIA, VEILED, AS PRIESTESS OF AUGUSTUS.³

in what he said, or professed to do so: at Lyons a temple was erected *Mercurio Augusto et Maiæ Augustæ*.² At Rome they could scarcely do less. On the day of the funeral an ex-prætor affirmed under oath that he had seen the figure of the new Romulus emerge from the midst of the flames and ascend into heaven. With the expenditure of only a million sesterces Livia made her husband a god. This seems to us monstrous, and justly so;⁴

but we have seen that a powerful person readily received a divine diploma.⁵ Everything was prepared in the public mind

¹ *Carm.* I. ii. 41.

² *Musée Laponaire de Lyon*, Nos. 719 and 720.

³ Bust in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

⁴ [Yet even in our own day we have approached as nearly to such an apotheosis as Christian manners would tolerate. — Ed.]

⁵ See upon this subject Section III., *Religious Reform*. Custom established that the Senate should judge the deceased ruler. It annulled his acts (*rescissio actorum*), and from that time

throughout the Empire for the apotheosis of Augustus, and the Senate proclaimed him *divus*. He had a public cult, festivals, games, sanctuaries, and a priesthood; each city established an Augustal flamen; at Rome there were selected by lot from among the principal personages twenty-one pontiffs, to whom were added Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus. A domestic worship also was paid him in the atrium of each house. Livia became a priestess to this new divinity (*Augusta sacerdos*); and every morning she could be seen in the house of Augustus, now transformed into a shrine, burning incense before the image of him whose human weaknesses none knew so well as she.¹



AUGUSTUS DEIFIED
(CABINET DE FRANCE).

III. — THE TESTAMENT OF AUGUSTUS.

*Concerning the deeds of the divine Augustus, by which he subjugated the world to the sway of the Roman people, and the expenditures which he made for the state and for the Roman people: a copy of the original document engraved upon two tables of brass which are placed in Rome.*²

I. At the age of nineteen I raised, acting upon my own judgment and at my own expense, an army, by means of which I restored liberty to the state oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. In return for this the

his name would be omitted in the official list of the Emperors; or it confirmed them, and in that case the people, the legions, and the Senate itself swore, in their annual oath of fidelity, to obey his decrees (*jurare in acta principis*). Upon this declaration all his decrees had the force of law, and the confirmation of the decrees was followed by the *consecratio*, or apotheosis.

¹ The subterranean passage by which she went from her own house to that of Augustus is still in existence; a lictor attended her in the fulfilment of her sacerdotal duties.

² M. G. Perrot, despatched to Asia Minor by the Emperor Napoleon III. for purposes of archæological research, brought back from that expedition many new inscriptions and corrected versions of others already known, which he learnedly discusses in his very valuable work entitled *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie, de la Bithynie*, etc. Of all his discoveries, the most important, however, was that which gave us the first complete copy ever obtained of the inscription on the Augusteum of Ancyra known as the Testament of Augustus: *Rerum gestarum divi Augusti . . . exemplar*. Extracts from this document have repeatedly been made in the present work; but its importance as a recital of the achievements of Augustus, prepared by his own hand, is such that we have felt justified in presenting the whole text. In this summary of his great deeds the Emperor naturally makes no mention of the proscriptions which marked his accession to power, nor does he refer to the loss of the legions of Varus; the Senate and the people appear to have acted with full liberty, and prosperity seems always to have attended the Roman arms. The greatest importance is

Senate, by honorable decrees, admitted me to its number, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, being consuls, giving me consular rank. The Senate at the same time decreed to me the imperium; and, that no harm should happen to the state, charged me to watch over the public safety together with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa. The two consuls having fallen in war, the people the same year created me consul and triumvir, and charged with organizing the state.

II. Those who had killed my father I sent into exile, punishing their crime by regular legal convictions; when they made war against the state, I defeated them twice in pitched battle.

III. I have carried my arms over sea and land, and made war at home and abroad throughout all the world; being victorious, I have spared the lives of all citizens surviving. Foreign people whom I could with safety spare, I have preferred to keep alive rather than to destroy. About five hundred thousand (?) Romans have taken the military oath to me; and of this number a little more than three hundred thousand, upon the expiration of their term of service, have been established by me in colonies or sent home to their municipia. To all I have assigned lands or given them the price in money from my own savings. I have captured six hundred ships, not counting those smaller than triremes.

IV. Twice I have received the ovation, and three times the curule triumph. Twenty-one times I have been proclaimed imperator. Many

attached to the honors and offices bestowed upon himself, and his own expenditures in distributions of money and corn, and for games and public buildings. These were the points most impressive to the public mind and most emphasized by government. Whence the money came, no one cared to inquire, only the lavish hand was regarded; and in the eyes of these mendicants the Emperor's generosity was his chief title to fame.

Some details concerning the temple made memorable by this inscription will not be without interest. "The Augusteum of Ancyra (Angora)," says M. Perrot, "was one of the numerous edifices erected all over the Roman world by the servile adulation of the conquered nations to 'The Genius and Divinity of Augustus' . . . The Galatians, who seem to have built this temple during the Emperor's lifetime, were inspired with the happy idea, after his death, of engraving upon its walls the deeds of him to whom it was dedicated, as they had been set forth by himself in a document designed to be reproduced on the bronze doors of his mausoleum at Rome." The original Latin text was cut in the marble upon the inner side of the lateral walls of the pronaos or vestibule, facing each other on the left and right of the main entrance; and a Greek version of the same (for the benefit of the Greek-speaking Galatians) was engraved along the outside of the southeast wall of the building. The temple has been in part destroyed, and the remains in part concealed by later structures; but by great perseverance it has been possible to recover so large a portion of both texts that an almost complete version is made out.

[In 1882 a German explorer, Humann, made plaster casts from the two inscriptions; and from these casts Th. Mommsen, who had followed Perrot in a first edition (*Res gestae divi Augusti*) prepared a second edition of the testament, with commentary and eleven plates in fac-simile (Berlin, 1883). This admirable work is a model of sober and sagacious erudition, and may be regarded as final. Its author testifies to the excellence and accuracy of Perrot's version, as tested by the evidence of the casts. The translation given above is made from the Latin text as published by Perrot, with a few corrections inserted from Mommsen's edition. — Ed.]

other triumphs decreed to me by the Senate I have abstained from celebrating, and have contented myself with depositing the laurels in the Capitol, in fulfilment of the vows made by me in the name of the state in each war. By reason of successes obtained by me, or by my lieutenants under my auspices, the Senate has fifty-five times decreed thanksgivings



REMAINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ROME AND AUGUSTUS (THE AUGUSTEUM) AT ANCYRA.¹

to the immortal gods. Eight hundred and ninety days have been occupied in these sacrifices, their duration being determined by a *senatus-consultum*. In my triumphs nine kings or sons of kings have been led before my chariot. I had been thirteen times consul when I wrote this, and was in the thirty-seventh year of my tribuneship.

V. The dictatorship which the Senate and people offered me in my absence, and later when I was present in Rome during the consulship of

¹ Perrot, pl. 15. On the next page is given a restoration of this temple by Guillaume (*École des Beaux-Arts*). In respect to the *Koinón* of the Galatians, see Perrot's *Exploration*, etc.

M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius, I was not willing to accept. In a period of great scarcity I did not refuse the care of supplying the city with corn; which was so done, at my own expense, that in a few days the people were relieved from the existing danger and from anxiety. The consulship for the year and for life being then offered to me, I did not accept it.

VI. During the consulship of M. Vinucius and Q. Lucretius, later during that of P. Cn. Lentulus, and for the third time during that of Paulus Fabius Maximus and Q. Tubero, by consent of the Senate and the Roman



TEMPLE OF ROME AND AUGUSTUS AT ANCYRA.

people I was voted, with most extended powers, the sole guardianship of the laws and of public morals. When any powers were offered to me contrary to my country's traditions, I did not accept them; when the Senate intrusted me with the arrangement of other affairs, I brought them to a close by virtue of the tribunitian power with which I had been invested. In this office I five times, with the consent of the Senate, associated with myself a colleague.

VII. For ten years successively I was triumvir, having the duty of organizing the republic. I have held the rank of prince of the Senate up to the time when I wrote this; that is to say, for forty years. I have been pontifex maximus, augur, member of the college of quindecimvirs and

of the septemvirs, of the Arval Brothers, of the college of Titian priests, and of the Fetiales.

VIII. In my fifth consulate, by order of the people and the Senate, I increased the number of patricians. Three times I prepared the list of senators. In my sixth consulate I celebrated the ceremony of the census, M. Agrippa being my colleague. After forty-one years I made the census of the Roman people; in this census their number was 4,063,000. A second time, alone, I made the census, with consular authority, C. Censorinus and C. Asinius being consuls; the number was then 4,233,000 Roman citizens. A third census was made by me, having my son Tib. Cæsar for colleague, during the consulship of Sext. Pompeius and Sext. Appuleius, the number of citizens then being 4,937,000. By the promulgation of new laws I have both revived the examples of our ancestors, which were beginning to be forgotten among us, and have myself given to posterity an example of many things worthy to be imitated.

IX. The Senate decreed that prayers should be offered to the gods by the priests and consuls every five years for my welfare, on which occasions games often took place, sometimes offered by one of the four great sacerdotal colleges, and sometimes by the consuls. Private individuals as well as cities, all citizens wherever they might be, incessantly offered sacrifices to the gods for my health in all shrines.

X. My name, by a decree of the Senate, has been inserted in the Salian Hymn, and a law made that I should be sacrosanct and that I should possess for life the tribunitian power. The people offered me the supreme pontificate held by my father before me; but I would not supplant any living man in his office. Some years after, this priesthood being freed by the death of him who had seized it in our civil dissensions, I was put in possession of it, so great a crowd being gathered from all Italy to attend the comitia on this occasion as had never before been seen; this was during the consulate of P. Sulpicius and C. Valgius.

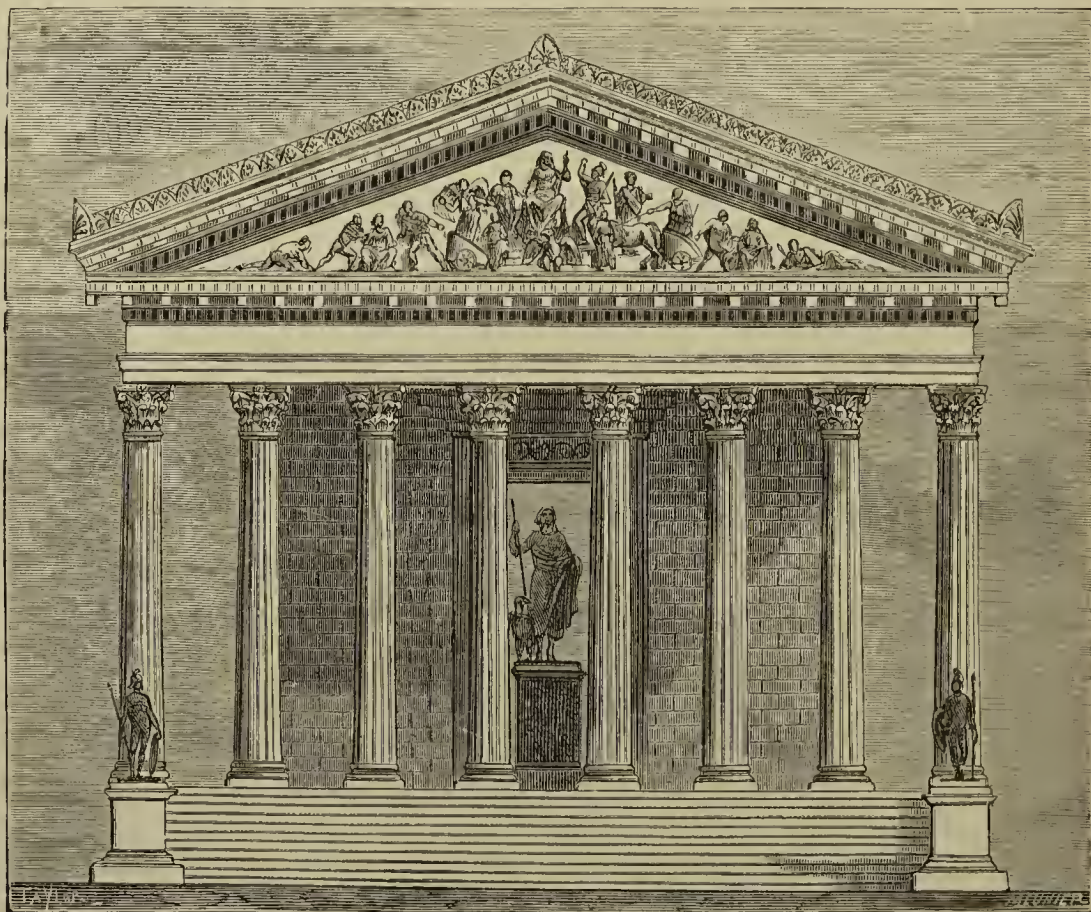
XI. To commemorate my return, the Senate consecrated before the Porta Capena, near the temple of Honor and Valor, an altar to Fortuna Redux, and decreed that upon this altar the priests and Vestals should offer sacrifice yearly on the anniversary of my return from Syria to Rome, and that this day should be called, from my name, Augustalia.

XII. By a decree of the Senate the leading men of the state, with some of the prætors and tribunes and the consul, Q. Lucretius, were sent to meet me in Campania,—an honor never before accorded to any one. When, after having successfully arranged the affairs of Spain and Gaul, I returned from those provinces to Rome, during the consulship of Tib. Nero and P. Quintilius, the Senate decreed the erection of an altar on account of my return, dedicated to the Augustan Peace, and ordered an annual sacrifice to be offered thereon by the magistrates, priests, and Vestals.

XIII. The temple of Janus Quirinus, which, according to the command of our fathers, is never closed except when peace prevails over all lands and seas subject to the Romans, had been closed, as our annals attest, but

twice since the foundation of Rome; under my government thrice has the Senate proclaimed that it should be elosed.

XIV. My sons, Caius and Lueius Caesar, snatched from me by Destiny in their youth, the Senate and the Roman people, to do me honor, designated as consuls in their fifteenth year, to enter upon office after five years should have elapsed. The Senate also decreed that from the day when they were presented in the Forum they should have a share in the deliberations of public affairs; the Roman knights also unanimously proclaimed them



TEMPLE OF JUPITER TONANS ¹ (p. 298).

principes juventutis, and presented each of them with a silver shield and lance.

XV. I have paid to the Roman plebs three hundred sesterees apiece in execution of my father's will, and in my own name, during my fifth consulship, four hundred apiece from the spoils obtained in war. Again, in my tenth consulship I distributed to each man from my private fortune four hundred sesterees by way of *congiarium*. In my eleventh consulship twelve times I distributed corn bought at my own expense. In the twelfth year of my office as tribune, for the third time I gave four hundred sesterees apiece. These various donations have never been made to less than two hundred and

¹ Restoration by Provost, of the *École des Beaux-Arts*.

fifty thousand men. In the eighteenth year of my office as tribune, which was also that of my twelfth consulship, I distributed among three hundred and twenty thousand men of the city plebs sixty denarii apiece. In the colonies formed of my veterans I caused to be distributed, when consul for the fifth time, a thousand sesterces to each man from the spoils of war; and the number of those who thus shared in this gratuity on occasion of my triumphs was about one hundred and twenty thousand. During my thirteenth consulship I gave to those of the plebeians who were registered as sharers in the public distribution of corn the sum of sixty denarii a head; and the number of those sharing in this gift was a little over two hundred thousand.

XVI. For the lands which in my fourth consulship, and later M. Crassus and Cn. Lentulus Augur being consuls, I assigned to the soldiers, I paid an indemnity to the municipia. For the lands which the Italian municipia placed at my disposal the sum was about six hundred millions sesterces, and for the lands furnished by the provinces about two hundred and sixty million. This I was the first and only man to do of all who up to my time have founded colonies in Italy or the provinces. Later, during the consulship of Tib. Nero and Cn. Piso, of C. Antistius and D. Laelius, of C. Calvisius and L. Pasiemus, of L. Lentulus and M. Messalla, I gave gratuities in money to the veterans whom I sent home to their municipia; and to this end I expended four hundred million of sesterces.

XVII. Four times from my own resources I furnished money to the public treasury, and placed at the disposal of those in charge of the treasury one hundred and fifty million sesterces. During the consulship of M. Lepidus

JUNO REGINA.¹

¹ Head of a bronze statue, originally overlaid with silver. Found near Vienna (Isère) in 1859, and now in the Museum of Lyons. From the inscription engraved upon the diadem it appears that the quaestor L. Lilugius presented this statue to the colony of Vienna (*Gazette archéol.* 1876, pl. 1).

and L. Arruntius I gave, in the name of Tib. Caesar and in my own, one hundred and seventy million sesterces into the military treasury established by my advice for the payment of gratuities to the soldiers who had served twenty years and upwards.

XVIII. The year of the consulship of Cn. and P. Lentulus, the public revenues failed. . . . I bought corn at my own expense, and furnished at one time to a hundred thousand men, at another to more, aid in corn and money.

XIX. The Curia, and the Chalcidicum adjacent thereto, the temple of Apollo upon the Palatine with its porticoes, the temple of the divine Julius, the Lupercal, the portico adjacent to the circus of Flaminius (to which I allowed to be left the name Octavian, after him who had previously built one on the same spot), the Pulvinar at the Circus Maximus, the



CONTEST OF ATHLETES.¹

temples on the Capitol of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter Tonans, the temple of Quirinus, those of Minerva, of Juno Regina, and of Jupiter Libertas on the Aventine, that of the Lares at the summit of the Via Sacra, those of the Penates upon the Velian hill, and those of Juventas and of the Mater Magna on the Palatine, were built by me.

XX. The Capitol and the theatre of Pompeius have both been restored by me at great expense, but without inscribing my name upon either of these edifices. I have repaired the aqueducts which were falling into ruin at many points, and I have doubled the amount of the water called Marcian by turning another spring into its channel. The Julian Forum and Basilica, which was between the temples of Castor and Saturn, works begun and nearly completed by my father, I have finished; and this basilica having been destroyed by fire, I have begun its reconstruction on an enlarged

¹ Engraved stone in the Gallery of Florence (Gorii, *Mus. de Flor.*, *Gem. Ant.* pl. lxxxiii. No. 5).

foundation, with an inscription of my sons' names, which if I in my lifetime do not complete, I have directed that it be completed by my heirs. Being for the sixth time consul, I have repaired within the city, by the Senate's orders, eighty-two temples, omitting no one that had need of restoration. During my seventh consulship I made the Flaminian Way from Rome to Ariminum from the spoils of war, and all the bridges over which it passes, with the exception of the Mulvian and Minneian.

XXI. Upon my own land I have built with the spoils of war the temple of Mars Ultor and the Augustan Forum. The theatre near the



VASE OF PERGAMUS (SOUVENIR OF THE GAMES IN HONOR OF AUGUSTUS).¹

temple of Apollo was built by me upon ground which I bought for the most part from private owners, that it might bear the name of M. Marcellus, my son-in-law. Gifts from the spoils made in war have been offered by me in the Capitol, in the temples of the divine Julius, of Vesta, and of Mars Ultor, which gifts have cost me about a hundred million sesterces. In my fifth consulship I remitted to the Italian municipia and colonies the present of gold,² of the weight of thirty-five thousand pounds, which they

¹ Muscum of the Louvre. Pergamns celebrated every five years the *Augusteia*, or games in honor of Augustus (Clarac, *Notice de la sculpt. ant. du musée du Louvre*, No. 801, G).

² *Aurum coronarium*.

offered me on occasion of my triumphs; and after this, whenever I was proclaimed emperor, I refused the same gift, which the municipia and colonies offered me each time with the same liberality.

XXII. Thrice in my own name, and five times in the names of my sons and grandsons, I have given combats of gladiators, in which about ten thousand men have fought. Twice in my own name, and a third time in my grandson's name, I gave the spectacle of a combat between athletes summoned from all quarters. I have celebrated the games four times in my own name and twenty-three times in the names of other magistrates. Being chief of the college of the quindecimvirs, M. Agrippa being my colleague, I celebrated in the name of this college the Secular Games, during the consulship of C. Furnius and C. Silanus. In my thirteenth consulship I celebrated in honor of Mars Ultor the games which since then the consuls have regularly given. . . . Twenty-six combats of African wild beasts have been given by me to the people in my name and in the name of my sons and grandsons in the Circus, the Forum, or the amphitheatres, and about thirty-five hundred wild beasts have been killed.

XXIII. I have given the people the spectacle of a naval combat beyond the Tiber, where is now the Caesars' grove; and for this purpose I caused the ground to be excavated for eighteen hundred feet in length and twelve hundred in width. Thirty beaked triremes and biremes and a great number of smaller vessels were engaged in this fight. Besides the rowers, three thousand men fought on these fleets.

XXIV. In the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia I, being victorious, replaced the ornaments of which he with whom I had been at war had despoiled them, and which he had appropriated. The number of my silver statues, pedestrian, equestrian, and in quadrigas erected in Rome, was about eighty. These I myself removed; and from their value converted into money, I placed offerings of gold in the temple of Apollo, in my own name and in the names of those who had offered me the honor of these statues.

XXV. I have freed the sea from pirates; and in that war I captured and returned to their masters, that they should suffer condign punishment, about thirty thousand slaves who had escaped from their masters and taken arms against the Republic. All Italy spontaneously offered allegiance to me, and demanded me as leader in the war which I ended by the victory of Actium. The same oath was taken to me by the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. More than seven hundred senators served under me, of which number, up to this day, eighty-three have become consuls, and about a hundred and seventy have received the office of priests.

XXVI. I have extended the limits of all the provinces of the Roman people adjacent to countries not yet subjected to our rule. I have pacified all the provinces of Gaul and Spain along the coast of the ocean from Gades to the mouth of the Albis. The Alps, from the region adjacent to the Adriatic Sea as far as the Tuscan, I have added to the Empire without unjustly making war upon any people. My fleet sailed by the

ocean from the mouth of the Rhine to the East up the boundaries of the Cimbri, into regions whither no Roman hitherto has come by sea or land. The Cimbri, the Charydes, the Sennones, and other German tribes of that region have by their deputies solicited my friendship and that of the Roman people. By my orders and under my auspices two armies have been led at about the same time into Aethiopia and into Arabia, called Eudæmon; the two nations who attacked us have been defeated with great loss in battle, and many prisoners have been taken. In Aethiopia an advance was made as far as Nabata, near Meroë. In Arabia the army penetrated as far as Mariba, on the frontier of the country of the Sabæans.

XXVII. I have brought Egypt under the dominion of the Roman people. Of Greater Armenia, after the murder of its king Artaxias, I might have made a province; but I chose rather, following the example of our ancestors, to give over this kingdom to Tigranes, son of Artavasdes,



LION HUNT (BAS-RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE).

grandson of king Tigranes; and I employed in this affair Tib. Nero, the same being my stepson. And afterwards the same people, becoming disorderly and rebellious, were subdued by my son Caius, and restored by my orders to king Ariobarzanes, son of the Median king Artabazes, and upon his death to his son Artavasdes. The latter having been killed, I sent into the kingdom Tigranes, of the royal race of Armenia. All the provinces lying beyond the Adriatic Sea eastward, and the Cyrenaïca, in great part given up to foreign kings, I recovered, as at an earlier period I had repossessed Sicily and Sardinia, detached from the Empire by a servile war.

XXVIII. In Africa, Sicily, Macedon, the two Spains, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis, and Pisidia, I have established military colonies. Italy also possesses twenty-eight colonies of the same nature founded by me, which within my lifetime have become very flourishing and populous.

XXIX. Many military standards lost by other generals I have recovered from Spain and Gaul and from the Dalmatians. The Parthians I have compelled to surrender the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and

to implore the friendship of the Roman people. These standards I have deposited in the sanctuary of the temple of Mars Ultor.

XXX. The Pannonian nations, among whom before my administration no Roman army had ever penetrated, were conquered by Tib. Nero, then my stepson and lieutenant; I have made them subject to the Roman people and have set back the limits of the province of Illyria as far as the Danube. A Dacian force, having crossed this river, were under my auspices defeated and destroyed; and later my army, crossing the river, compelled the people of Dacia to submit to the Roman power.

XXXI. Embassies from the kings of India have been many times sent to me, which has never before occurred under any Roman ruler. Our friendship has been sought, by means of deputies, by the Bastarnae, the Scythae, and the kings of the Sarmatae dwelling on both sides of the Tanaïs, and by the kings of the Albani, the Hiberi, and the Medi.

XXXII. To me as suppliants have come the kings of the Parthians, Tiridates, and afterwards Phraates, son of king Phraates; of the Medes,



ARIOBARZANES.

Artavasdes; of the Adiabeni, Artaxares; of the Britanni, Dumnobellaunus and Tim . . .; of the Sugambri, Maelo; and many of the Marcomanni and Suevi. Phraates, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, sent to me in Italy all his sons and grandsons, — not in consequence of a defeat, but seeking our friendship by the offer of his own children as hostages.

Many other nations who had never before had any relations of friendship and commerce with the Roman people have during my reign formed alliance with them.

XXXIII. From me the Parthians and Medes, having sought this by ambassadors, the chief men of their nation have received as kings, — the Parthians Vonones, son of king Phraates and grandson of king Orodes; and the Medes Ariobarzanes, son of king Artavasdes, grandson of king Ariobarzanes.

XXXIV. In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had put an end to the civil wars, having had by general consent all powers in my hands, I gave up to the Senate and the Roman people the conduct of public affairs. For this merit I was called, by a decree of the Senate, Augustus; it was decreed that the portals of my dwelling should be publicly wreathed with laurels, that a civic crown should be placed above my door, and that in the Curia Julia should be placed a golden shield, with the inscription that it was given me by the Senate and the Roman people in honor of my valor and clemency, my justice and patriotism. From that time I have surpassed all others in public respect; but I have never had more authority in any magistracy than the colleague sharing it with me.

XXXV. During my thirteenth consulship the Senate, the equestrian order, and all the Roman people conferred upon me the name of *Pater patriae*, and directed this title to be inscribed in the vestibule of my dwelling, and in the Curia and the Augustan Forum under the quadriga erected in my honor by the Senate. When I wrote these words I was in my seventy-sixth year.



VENUS.

DIANA.

APOLLO.

VESTA.



MINERVA.

JUPITER.

JUNO.

VULCAN.



CERES.

MARS.

NEPTUNE.

MERCURY.

THE GODS OF OLYMPUS, FROM A POMPEIAN FRESCO.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE BY AN UNKNOWN HAND.

The total of the sums given by him to the treasury, the people, and the discharged veterans, amounted to six hundred million denarii.¹

He built the temples of Mars, of Jupiter Tonans and Jupiter Feretrius, of Apollo, of the divine Julius, of Quirinus, of Juno Regina, of Jupiter Libertas, of the Lares, of the Penates, of Youth, and of the Great Mother; the Lupercal, the Pulvinar near the Circus, the Curia with the Chalcidicum, the Augustan Forum, the Julian basilica, the theatre of Marcellus, the grove of the Caesars beyond the Tiber, the Portico on the Palatine, and the portico of the Flaminian Circus.

He restored the Capitol and eighty-two sacred buildings, the theatre of Pompeius Magnus, the aqueducts, and the Flaminian Way.

His expenses for games, combats of gladiators and athletes, a naval battle, and the chase of wild beasts, it is impossible to estimate; the same is true in respect to his gifts to the Italian cities and colonies, to provincial cities destroyed by earthquakes and fires, and also to friends and senators to whom he supplied the amount of property needed to secure their rank in the census.²

¹ [Equal to 2,400,000,000 sesterces; evidently in round numbers, the exact total of the gifts not amounting to 2,200,000,000 sesterces. — ED.]

² "It would be difficult," says M. Perrot, "to determine to what hand is due the summary which concludes the inscription. It evidently does not belong to the Emperor himself, who is spoken of in the third person, and all that it contains has already been mentioned with more detail, with the exception of the one item of the gifts made to the provinces. The most probable conjecture as to its origin is that it was a text brought from Italy with the inscription itself, and was originally prepared by some scribe of the imperial chancery, to be recited publicly by the herald on occasion of the Emperor's funeral."

CHAPTER LXX.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS.

I. — LITERATURE.

NO one at the present day is deceived in regard to the meaning of expressions like these, — the Age of Pericles, of Augustus, of Leo X. These patrons of literature and the arts received from art and letters far more than they were able to bestow, and they had really no share in the great work which went on around them. Intellectual revolutions, like all others, are long in preparation, bursting forth only when the man of signal ability appears; and men of this sort are formed by nature, not by the ruler. We must, however, give a name to epochs in which the race, concentrating its productive energies, brings forth in rapid succession a crowd of masterpieces; and the name is fitly chosen when it is that of a prince who has valued the achievements and courted the society of men of genius. History with good reason accepts the custom; and, say what we may, posterity will never separate these rulers from the men eminent for genius, exploits, or virtues by whom their reigns have been made illustrious.¹

¹ The subject of cameo No. 188 of the *Cabinet de France* is the apotheosis of Augustus, — a sardonyx of five layers, as remarkable for its composition and execution as for its dimensions (11.8 in. by 10.2). This magnificent cameo, the largest in the world, made part of the treasure of the Sainte Chapelle, and is believed to have been given to Saint Louis by Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople. It represents, — in the upper portion, Augustus, seated on Pegasus, guided by Cupid; Aeneas, or his son Iulus, in Phrygian dress, holding the globe of the world; Caesar, with the veil of the pontifex maximus and the radiate crown, holding a sceptre; and at the extreme left the elder Drusus, laurel-crowned and carrying a buckler, is advancing towards Augustus. In the centre, the family of the Caesars in the year 19 A. D.; Tiberius, crowned with laurel, holding the sceptre of Jupiter, is seated beside Livia as Ceres. Behind Livia, the younger Drusus is pointing out to Livilla, his wife, the reception of Augustus by Julius Caesar. On the other side Antonia, standing, turns towards Germanicus, her son. The latter, in military costume, touches his helmet with his hand, upon which Antonia also lays her hand, — perhaps to signify that the peace conquered by his exploits renders his weapons useless. Behind Germanicus is his wife Agrippina, seated on a pile of arms, and the young

Not the least illustrious among these brilliant groups is the noble train which gathers about Augustus, — not led by him, but surrounding him. Plautus is not among them, nor are Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust, who all lived earlier; nor is Tacitus, who belongs to a later period. But at the Emperor's side, constantly helpful to him, we see Maecenas and Agrippa, diplomacy and military skill; and after them Drusus and Germanicus, young princes beloved of the Roman people and of history. Behind him are three immortal writers, — Vergil, who leads the choir of poets; Livy, recounting the laborious lives, the patriotism, and the lofty deeds of by-gone times; and Horace, the tuneful singer of good sense and good taste. Following these, although very far behind them, we observe Varius, who strove to rival Sophocles, — as if the Tragic Muse could find a place at Rome along with the sports of the amphitheatre! ² — Tibullus, Gallus, and Propertius, elegiac poets whose

URANIA, OR ASTRONOMY.¹

Caius, wearing the *caligae* which gave him his surname. Seated on the ground, at the left of Livia, is the despairing figure of Armenia, lately conquered. In the lower portion of the cameo, German and Oriental captives symbolize the victories of Germanicus and Drusus. Cf. Chabouillet, *Catal. gén. etc.*, No. 188, pp. 28–31.

¹ This beautiful statue, for a long time at Velletri, the native place of Augustus, is now in the Vatican (Hall of the Muses, No. 504).

² Varius composed a tragedy, *Thyestes*, which Quintilian has the bad taste to compare with the finest works of Sophocles and Euripides, but which was not played in public, as Ovid's *Medea* never was (viii. 3, 17, and ix. 1, 98). The Roman tragedies were suited only for private representations, being in large measure incomprehensible to an audience gathered from the four quarters of the globe, and representing every variety of beliefs and manners. To the poets mentioned in the text we may add Ponticus, author of an epic on the Theban war,

verses were too learned to be natural; Ovid, whose copiousness is too often sterile; Phaedrus, a cold but limpid writer; Manilius, who sang the stars, "the confidants of destiny;" Varro, Hyginus, and Flaccus, representing erudition under the only forms known at Rome,—the grammatical and liturgical; Celsus, who, as an imitator of the Greek master of medical science, may be called the Roman Hippocrates; Strabo, the great geographer; and Vitruvius, the overpraised adviser of those unknown architects who changed the aspect of Rome. To these we add Trogus Pompeius the Gaul, and the Roman Greeks, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Nicolaos of Damascus, who wrote general histories for this universal Empire; and lastly, the sturdy republican Labeo and his rival Ateius Capito, founders of the two great schools of jurisprudence,—the one advocating strict adherence to the old Roman law; the other speaking in the name of that power, then new, yet represented by Cicero as older than the world and contemporary with God himself,—namely, equity, or natural justice.

Let us suppose that some skilful painter should represent on canvas the picture we have now sketched; let it be placed side by side with Raphael's "School of Athens:" the dazzling superiority of Greece must indeed be acknowledged; but we shall still be able to say that Rome, for her part, can show a brilliant page.

From the train attending Augustus we will detach a few individuals whose action upon Roman society was especially direct, or who represent to us very clearly certain phases in the spirit of the times. A history of literature reserves all its attention for works of art alone, and is justified in neglecting whatever does not bear this glorious stamp. But political history, which must deal with ideas, goes everywhere in search of them, even where the literary talent may be of a low grade. For this reason she questions, because of their popularity,—that is to say, because of the influence they have wielded,—a philosophic theo-

which Propertius (*Eleg.* I. vii.) flatteringly couples with the Homeric poems; Bassus, at that time famous for his iambs; Corn. Severus, author of tragedies, epigrams, and elegies; Peto Albinovanus, author of a poem on Theseus; Carus, who composed one upon Hercules; Tuticanus, translator of the Odyssey; and others. I will not speak of Cornelius Nepos, who was a poor historian, nor of Julius Caesar, who as a writer must be placed in the foremost rank. Hyginus was one of the Emperor's freedmen, and had charge of the library of the imperial palace.

logian like Varro, and even a comedian-moralist like Publilius Syrus; never failing, however, to reserve the first place for the men of genius who have made their age illustrious, some of whom Rome at that time possessed. The Emperor was busy providing peace and order; and these men of genius meanwhile for their part, with a rare comprehension of the duties of their endowments, were seeking to aid him in his task of pacification, and by the worship of the good and the beautiful to elevate the public mind, so long debased by corruption, by fratricidal strifes, and the overflow of all evil passions. This is not to say that Augustus formally enrolled among his counsellors Horace and Vergil and Livy, with the title of professors of public morals. Their inclinations harmonized with the intentions of the ruler; and each of them in his own way, and with entire freedom of action, wrought at the common task.

Against assigning this *rôle* to Horace, the reader may be disposed to allege that frequent levity of language which appears to us more blameworthy than it did to a people among whom even Cato regarded courtesans as a salutary institution. But in spite of the tribute he pays to the coarseness of Roman manners and to his own weakness, Horace is a moral writer. Saint Jerome calls him a serious poet, and the ecclesiastical authors of the Middle Ages are wont to quote him.¹ Without rising, it is true, to the severe virtue of the Stoics, he stands between Epicurus and Zeno, in a middle region, somewhat too broad and easy, it must be confessed, but one in which many like himself attain to virtue and integrity.²

And so, without much thought on his part, following his own inclination, not any man's orders, Horace, in the Roman world, assumed the functions of those early poets who first disseminated moral truths. The key-note of all his philosophy is that sentiment of fitness which in art we call good taste, and in the conduct of

¹ The popes were stricter; the first edition of Horace printed at Rome bears date of the year 1811, during the French occupation [and yet in the previous century the most licentious selections from the classics had been most expensively produced at Rome. — ED.]. (Cf. Walckenaer, *Life of Horace*, i. 519, n. 1.) His father, a slave in Venusia, had assumed after his enfranchisement the name of the *tribus Horatia*, to which that city belonged; hence the son's name.

² *Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum* (Hor., *Epist.* I. i. 11).

life, good sense; he is never done advising that moderation in desires which holds each man in his place, as the poet himself was all his life content with his clerkship in the quaestor's office. The melancholy of our times is quite unknown to him; never will he repeat those words attributed to one of his masters, Aesop: "God moistened, not with water, but with tears, the clay whereof he made man."¹ He does, indeed, see Death with fatal foot knock at the door of the poor man's hut as at that of the royal palace, and slowly draw near Tibur, which for the poet shelters so many trivial amours, and for other men so many ambitious designs; but the sombre visitant only teaches him to make the most of the days still left him: *Carpe diem*, he cries; and adds felicitously, "As old age advances, become gentler and better."

"Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta."

He acts upon his own advice and seeks to improve himself. "Let us make a trial," he says to his *villicus*, "which of us two is most industrious, you in weeding my fields, or I my mind; and whether Horace or his lands will come out the better." Withal, none of those theatrical austerities in vogue later, which neither nature nor virtue requires. He leads an easy but an orderly life, and surrounds himself with all the elegance of art, of thought, and of nature. He loves not tumult and the crowd, and would have been no braver in the Forum than on the battlefield. A small estate in a beautiful situation, and a shady grove where in the days of a gay youth, somewhat over-prolonged, some Lalage or Cymara awaited him, but where now only the delicate breath of the Muse agitates the leaves, *spiritum Graiae tenuem camenae*; good figs of Tusculum, and the Falernian of the year when Manlius was consul; refined conversation, where daily more and more philosophy holds a place, with chosen friends, with him above all who was half the poet's soul, or that other whom he desired not to outlive,—this to Horace was the height of his desires.²

¹ An expression quoted as Aesop's (Niceph. Greg., book xiv. chap. iv.), but manifestly of Christian origin.

² He said of Vergil, *dimidium animae meae*, and declared to Maecenas that he would die with him,—which, indeed, with but a few days' interval, he did.

Here and there in his verses appear the sentiments which are to be those of the coming time. The old powers, aristocracy of birth and the plebeian crowd, are but little respected by him. He cares not to have the suffrages of the latter, —

“Non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor,”

and elsewhere, —

“Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.”

And if he seek the favor of the former, and would be glad if his verses occupy the leisure of men of rank, he still proudly



SITE OF THE VILLA OF HORACE.¹

claims all the rights of genius. He does not blush to be known as a freedman's son; and when he sends his poetry to the bookseller, “Tell them,” he says, “how, the son of a freedman in narrow circumstances, I spread my wings beyond the nest;

¹ From Didot's *Horace*, p. xxiii.

what you take from my birth, add to my merits." Horace really is, then, the poet of a world becoming monarchical and of a newly formed court; and still he is very far from being a courtier. His position towards Augustus is like that of Racine and Boileau towards Louis XIV.; of greater dignity, in fact, for Horace had neither the office nor the pension of historiographer. He refuses favors, although to the most delicate tokens of appreciation the Emperor has added the gift of his friendship; and when he is urged to celebrate in verse the achievements of Augustus, he declines the task. And even when Maecenas, whom he loves best, complains of the poet's rare visits, and long stay at the distant villa which is his own gift, Horace is prompt to answer with the fable of the slender little fox grown too fat to get out of the corn-bin, who would gladly relinquish everything to have his liberty once more.¹ And the patron comprehends his *protégé's* noble independence expressed in the latter's motto: "I will rule Fortune, and never be ruled by her." Listen to these proud, free words, even against the gods themselves: "Ask from Jupiter only that which he gives and takes away,—life and fortune; but as for peace of mind, that is ours to bestow upon ourselves."

Horace, the idler of the Forum, the *habitué* of the palace of Maecenas, addresses himself to the man of polite society in every age, yet, in his own time, served the Emperor's designs.²

Vergil did this even in a higher degree, although living habitually out of Rome, and seeming in mind to dwell far apart from his contemporaries. He united in himself merits rarely found together; and yet in the history of letters is scarcely to be found a more harmonious genius. A heart chaste and tender, loving the

¹ *Carm.* I. vi. and II. xii. See also *Epist.* I. vii. Propertius does the same (III. ix.). Whether as flattery towards Augustus or from resentment against Caesar, we cannot determine; but the fact exists that neither Horace nor Propertius ever makes any reference to the dictator.

² He appears, however, to have enjoyed but little popularity either during his lifetime or in the century following. The *graffiti* of Pompeii, which reproduce the verses of Vergil, Propertius, and Ovid, quote not a line from Horace. Vergil, who fled from the world, has remained popular, and legend seized upon him even in the Middle Ages; to the people Horace was unknown, because for legend mystery is needful, which there was in Vergil's life, while there was none at all in that of Horace, who gives us the particulars of its daily course in the fullest detail. But he was very popular with men of letters, and is frequently quoted or imitated by Christian writers.

woods and fields, and Nature in all her forms, echoing her soul with his own,¹ he lavishes his affection upon all that he beholds, and endows it all with life that he may represent it as loving, suffering, and weeping. Everywhere he finds grief and tears: *sunt lachrymae rerum*. He detests "the wicked madness of war."²

VERGIL.³

and he is touched, is grieved, at whatever dies (*mentem mortalia tangunt*),⁴ whether it be the heifer breathing out her gentle life beside the well-filled crib, or the bird struck down from the clouds, or the bull falling dead in the furrow at his mate's side, who

¹ *Spiritus intus alit, totumque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum, pecudumque genus . . .* (*Aeneid*, vi. 726).

Vergil is so struck by the spectacle of this universal life that he goes so far as to say: *Animos tollent sata* (*Georg.* ii. 350).

² *Scelerata insania belli* (vii. 461).

⁴ *Aeneid*, i. 462.

³ Bust from the Museum of the Capitol.

bewails him with fraternal lamentation.¹ For Cato the earth is a means of gain; for Vergil she is the nourishing goddess, mother of all beings. In the spring-time she receives her celestial spouse, the mighty Aether, descending in fertilizing showers which swell the germs of vegetation and make the harvests ripen. The poet sees and comprehends the vast cycle of the universal life, and in the enthusiasm of his poetic knowledge he cries aloud with all humanity, —

“Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.”

And there are also chords which vibrate to the breath of patriot thoughts, for all his country's grandeur, for Rome, which he calls

the most beautiful of things (*rerum pulcherrima*), for that stately hill of the Capitol which shall endure “so long as the pontifex ascends its steps, the silent Vestal at his side.”²



AENEAS BEARING ANCHISES (PIUS AENEAS).³

All this he clothes in the most charming verse; and from the point of view of art Vergil is a greater poet than

Homer; nevertheless, the Aeneid will remain as far from the Iliad as marble is from life, since the most skilful artist cannot enter into competition with the work which sprang living from the hands of God or from a people's spirit. It made no difference that Homer was blind; he sang what all Greece had sung. Vergil examined all histories, he laboriously re-awakened the lost echoes of all traditions, and made a work of erudition as well as of poetry. Hence to animate the fair Vergilian marble it is needful to give it what the Romans gave, — the very soul of Rome, and of the Augustan Rome. How straight to the heart of the Romans his verses went! Whether, in his most finished work,

¹ *Georg.* iii. 495 and 518. . . . *Dulcis animas — Macrentem . . . fraterna morte juvencum.*

² *Hor., Carm.*, III. xxx. 9; Vergil, *Aeneid*, ix. 448.

³ From a painting on a vase made at Nola (Museum of Munich; O. Jahn, *Münchener Vasensammlung*, No. 903).

he sought to do by aid of poetry what the Gracchi had attempted by laws,—to revive the taste for rustie labor and the virtues of the husbandman's life, the love for "the divine splendor of the fields"¹—or whether in the *Aeneid*, which perhaps was originally called "The Acts of the Roman People" (*Gesta Populi Romani*),² he strove to re-awaken in them the worship of the gods and heroes of the country. He gives to them a lesson even in his haughty cry, "Remember that the Fates made thee to rule the world!" for he would have them recollect that this Empire was obtained by a sober and religious life. Vergil, who so often sought inspiration from the verses of Lucretius, combats from beginning to end of his two poems the atheism of his great predecessor. "Above all," he says, "let the gods be honored!" It is the watch-word of Augustus! And while attesting the sway of the lords of Olympus over the world, he takes pleasure in exhibiting the early shepherds of the nations, those kings of heavenly origin, who, like Caesar's successor, caused peace and plenty to prevail around them.

If the *Georgics* are the praise of labor sanctified by religion and recompensed by the gods, the *Aeneid* is the eulogy of monarchy consecrated by the divine will and protection. The two poems, therefore, were a plea in favor of that threefold restoration of the manners, the religion, and the government of early days which Augustus was striving to accomplish. Thus in the wise Aeneas, whom the gods led by the hand from the Trojan shores to the



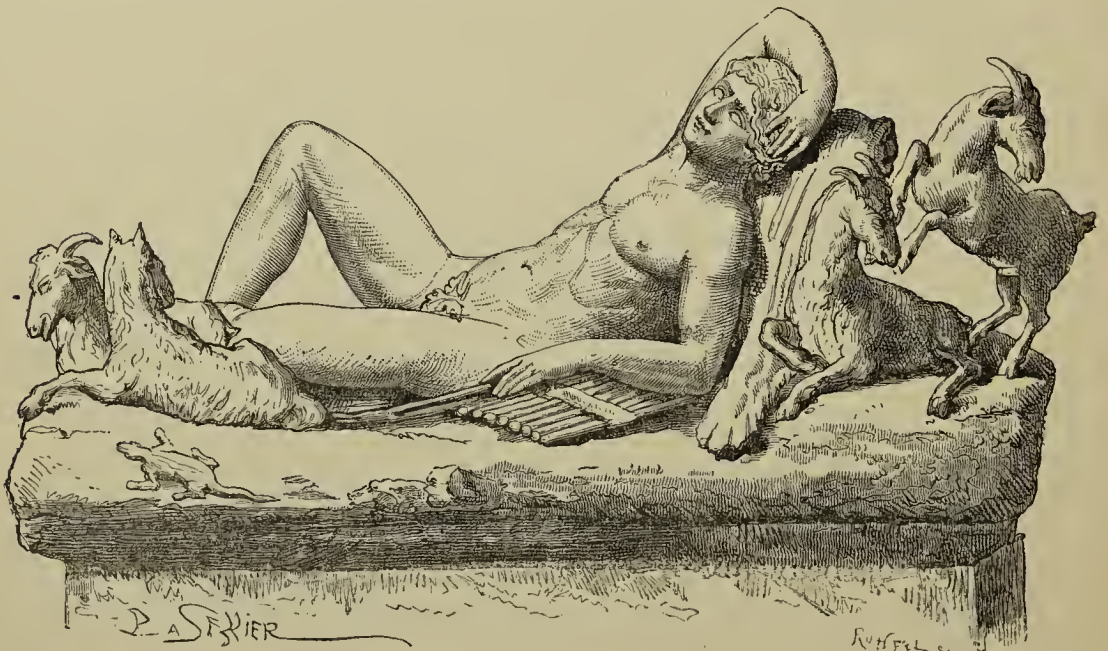
TITYRUS, THE SHEPHERD; SOUVENIR OF THE BUCOLICS.³

¹ *Divini gloria ruris* (*Georg.* i. 168).

² In the verses attributed to Gallus, *De Vergilii morte*, it is said, in reference to the *Aeneid*, that it must be preserved, notwithstanding the dying poet's wish: *Fac laudes Italum, fac tua fata legi.*

³ From a terra-cotta lamp (Museum of the Louvre).

banks of the Tiber, many recognized the pious son whom Fortune had conducted from the schools of Apollonia to the palace of Caesar. The figure of Aeneas in the poem seems pale only to those who seek for an Achilles or Ajax in this calm, cold personage, always master of his heart and of his courage, because he is fulfilling a divine mission, and bears, with his sacred Penates, the destinies of the Eternal City. This founder is a priest rather than a hero; the gods act in and by him, — *pious Aeneas*; and upon his death he became the national divinity, *Pater Indiges*.¹

SHEPHERD WITH HIS KIDS.²

In the eyes of Vergil's contemporaries, the second Aeneas, his combats ended and his father avenged, passes, like his prototype, tranquil and gentle, through the midst of a world in disorder, calming the passions in which he has no share, bringing back to earth the order which the gods establish in heaven, and, like his prototype, bearing in his hands the destinies of a new Rome, of which in his turn he is to be the protecting divinity, *divus Augustus*.

I merely mention in passing the *Bucolics* of Vergil, — a false style of poetry, which appears only in the midst of an artificial society; where, under gilded ceilings, men talk of flocks and

¹ This idea, that the *Aeneid* is a religious poem and Aeneas a pontiff, exists in Macrobius.

² Group in the Vatican.

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